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THE
DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

OF THE

STATE OF NEW-YORK;

ARRANGED UNDER DIRECTION OF THE

HON. CHRISTOPHER MORGAN,
Secretary of State.



BY E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M. D.

VOL. I.

V. I Pt. 1

ALBANY:

WEED, PARSONS & Co., PUBLIC PRINTERS.
1849.



Carta per il
spazio di 1000

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NOVA BELGICA

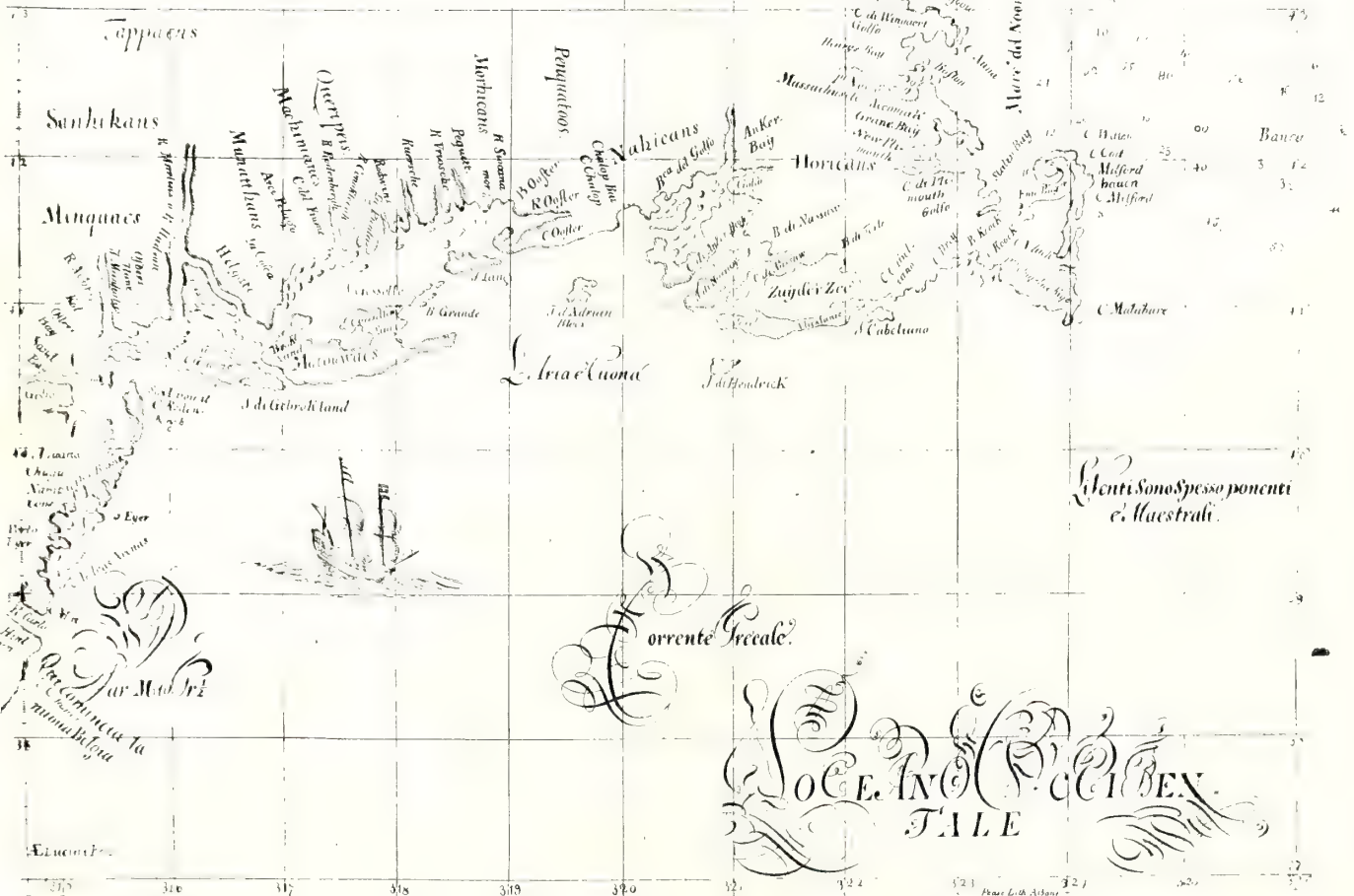


Carta particolare della nuova Belgia
e parte della nuova Anglia
La longitudine Comincia dall'Isola di Rio d'Asores

NOVA ANGLIA

NOVA BELGICA

NOVA ANGLIA



Costa della Nuova Inghilterra

Banco

Stenti Sono Spesso ponenti
e illustrati

oriente Grecale

OCEANO PACIFICUS

•• The Map facing the Title page of this Volume is taken from one of North America, engraved by LUCINI, an Italian artist, originally on four sheets, three of which belong to the Warden Collection of the State Library.

It will be perceived from its Title that it is a Map of New Belgium (now New York,) and part of New England, the former of which Provinces was claimed at the time, to extend from Cape Cod to the Capes of Delaware. The absence of any date renders it difficult, however, to ascertain precisely the year it was engraved and this point can be determined only by other evidence.

Boston, which was settled in 1630, is found laid down, but there is no mention of Maryland, the Province of Virginia forming the southern Boundary of New Belgium.

As Maryland was first granted in 1632, it is evident the date of this Map must be some year between that and the settlement of Boston. Most probably, it was engraved in 1631.

In point of time, it may be considered the third oldest Map of the Province extant, having, as far as yet known, been preceded by only two Dutch Maps, one of 1616 and one 1618, transcripts of which are in the office of the Secretary of State, and of one of which this Italian Map is evidently an improved copy.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
I. PAPERS RELATING TO THE IROQUOIS AND OTHER INDIAN TRIBES,	1
II. PAPERS RELATING TO THE FIRST SETTLEMENT AT ONONDAGA, AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE SALT SPRINGS AT SALINA,	31
III. PAPERS RELATING TO DE COURCELLES' AND DE TRACY'S EXPEDITIONS AGAINST THE MOHAWK INDIANS, 1665-6,	57
IV. REPORTS ON THE PROVINCE OF NEW-YORK, 1669-1678,	85
V. PAPERS RELATING TO M. DE LA BARRE'S EXPEDITION TO HUNGRY BAY, 1684,	93
VI. GOVERNOR DONGAN'S REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE PROVINCE, 1687.	145
VII. PAPERS RELATING TO DENONVILLE'S EXPEDITION TO THE GENESEE COUNTRY AND NIAGARA, 1687,	191
VIII. NAMES OF THE MALE INHABITANTS OF ULSTER CO., 1689,	279
IX. PAPERS RELATING TO THE INVASION OF NEW-YORK AND THE BURNING OF SCHENECTADY BY THE FRENCH, 1690,	283
X. CIVIL LIST OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW-YORK, 1693,	313
XI. PAPERS RELATING TO FRONTENAC'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGOS, 1696,	321
XII. NEW-YORK ARMY LIST, 1706,	357
XIII. CENSUS OF THE COUNTIES OF ORANGE, DUTCHESS AND ALBANY, 1702, 1714, 1720,	365
XIV. CADWALLADER COLDEN ON THE LANDS OF NEW-YORK, 1732,	375
XV. PAPERS RELATING TO THE SUSQUEHANNAH RIVER, 1683-1757,	391
XVI. PAPERS RELATING TO OGDENSBURGH, 1749.	421
XVII. PAPERS RELATING TO OSWEGO,	441
XVIII. PAPERS RELATING TO THE ONEIDA COUNTRY AND MOHAWK VALLEY, 1756, 1757,	507

	PAGE.
XIX. PAPERS RELATING TO FRENCH SEIGNIORIES ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN,	535
XX. BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN THE WHITES AND THE INDIANS, 1765,	587
XXI. PAPERS RELATING TO THE CITY OF NEW-YORK,	593
XXII. PAPERS RELATING TO LONG ISLAND,	627
XXIII. STATISTICS OF POPULATION, 1647—1774,	687
XXIV. STATISTICS OF REVENUE, IMPORTS, EXPORTS, ETC., 1691—1768,	699
XXV. PAPERS RELATING TO TRADE AND MANUFACTURES, 1705—1757,	709
XXVI. REPORT OF GOV. TRYON ON THE STATE OF THE PRO- VINCE, 1774,	737
INDEX,	775
DIRECTIONS TO BINDER,	787

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY.

I.
PAPERS

RELATING TO

The Iroquois and other Indian Tribes.

1666—1763.

THE NINE IROQUOIS TRIBES. 1666.

[Paris Loc., I.]

THE Iroquois Nation consists of nine tribes, which form two divisions ; one of four tribes, and the other of five.

They call the first division GUEY-NIOTITESHESGUÉ, which means the four tribes ; and the second division they call it OUICHE-NIOTITESHESGUÉ, which means the five tribes.

The first is that of the Tortoise, which calls itself *Atiniathin*. It is the first, because they pretend, when the Master of Life made the Earth, that he placed it on a tortoise ; and when there are earthquakes, it is the tortoise that stirs.

The second tribe is that of the Wolf, and calls itself *Enanthayonni*, or *Cahenhisenhonon*, and brother of the Tortoise tribe. When there is question of war they deliberate together ; and if the affair is of great moment, they communicate it to the other tribes to deliberate together thereupon ; so of all the other tribes. They assemble in the hut of a war-chief when the question is of war, and in the hut of a council-chief when it is for ordinary matters of state.

The third tribe is that of the Bear, which they call *Atiniongwin*.

The fourth tribe is that of the Beaver, and brother to that of the Bear. These four tribes compose the first division, which they call *Guey-niotiteshesgué*.

SECOND DIVISION.

The fifth tribe is that of the Deer, which they name *Canendeshé*.

The sixth is that of the Potatoe, which they call *Schoneschioronon*.

The seventh is that of the Great Plover, which they call *Otinanchaké*.

The eighth is that of the Little Plover, which they call *Asco*, or *Nicohes*.

The ninth is that of the Kiliou [Eagle], which they call *Canonchahonronon*. They call these five tribes *Ouiche-niotiteshesgué*.

These nine tribes formerly occupied nine villages, which were finally collected together in order to sustain war more easily.

The ninth tribe derives its origin from a cabin that was in the interior (*dans les terres*), and composed of several fires or establishments. In the middle of the cabin was a partition which divided the cabin in two.

Weary of knowing no one, and consequently unable to marry, they all married among themselves; which is the reason that their name signifies two cabins united together.

Each tribe has in the gable end of its cabin, the animal of the tribe painted; some in black, others in red.

When they assemble together for consultation, the first Division ranges itself on one side of the fire in a cabin; and the other Division places itself on the other side.

When the matter on which they have met has been discussed on one side and the other, they accompany the decision with much ceremony.

The Division which decides the matter gives two opinions, so that the best may be adopted, and offers all possible opposition in proposing its opinions, in order to shew that it has well considered what it says.

They adopt, usually, the first opinion, unless there be some strong motive to the contrary.

When they go to war, and wish to inform those of the party who may pass their path, they make a representation of the animal of their tribe, with a hatchet in his dexter paw; sometimes a sabre or a club; and if there be a number of tribes together of the same party, each draws the animal of his tribe, and their number, all on a tree from which they remove the bark. The

animal of the tribe which heads the expedition is always the foremost.

They generally have a rendezvous when they propose to strike a blow, where in case of pursuit, they leave a part of their clothes and ammunition. When they fight, they are very Molochs, and have merely the waistcloth on, with a pair of mocasins on the feet.

When the expedition is numerous they often leave a party a hundred or a hundred and fifty leagues (*lieues*, qy. paces?) from the village which they are about to attack. When they have finished, if they have casse-tetes or clubs, they plant them against the corpse inclining a little towards the village of the slain.

On their return, if they have prisoners or scalps, they paint the animal of the tribe to which they belong, rampant, (*debout*) with a staff on the shoulder along which are strung the scalps they may have, and in the same number. After the animal are the prisoners they have made, with a *chichicois*, (or gourd filled with beans which rattle), in the right hand. If they be women, they represent them with a *Cadenette* or queue and a waistcloth.

If there be several tribes in the war party, each paints the animal of his tribe with the scalps and prisoners it has made, as before, but always after that which is head of the party.

When they have scalps they give them to one or two men who suspend them behind them to their girdle.

These men who carry these scalps follow the others at a distance, that is to say, at a quarter of a league, because they pretend that when they retreat and have scalps, if these precede the others they cannot march any further because they are seized with terror at the sight of the dripping blood. But this is only the first day, sometimes the second and third when they are pursued.

When they come again together, they proceed to notify the others and then each one takes his station or awaits the enemy. When night falls they make a hole in the earth where they kindle a fire with bark to cook their meat, if they have any, and that during three or four days.

They tie the prisoners to stakes set in the ground, into which

they fix their leg or rather foot, and this stake is closed by another tied together at a man's height. They place a man at each side who sleeps near them and who is careful to visit the prisoners from time to time, during the night.

When they have lost any men on the field of battle they paint the men with the legs in the air, and without heads and in the same number as they have lost ; and to denote the tribe to which they belonged, they paint the animal of the tribe of the deceased on its back, the paws in the air, and if it be the chief of the party that is dead, the animal is without the head.

If there be only wounded, they paint a broken gun which however is connected with the stock, or even an arrow, and to denote where they have been wounded, they paint the animal of the tribe to which the wounded belong with an arrow piercing the part in which the wound is located ; and if it be a gunshot they make the mark of the ball on the body of a different color.

If they have sick, and are obliged to carry them, they paint litters (*boyards*) of the same number as the sick, because they carry only one on each litter.

When they are thirty or forty leagues¹ from their village they send notice of their approach, and of what has happened them. Then every one prepares to receive the prisoners, when there are any, and to torment each as they deem proper.

Those who are condemned to be burnt are conveyed to the cabin which has been given them. All the warriors assemble in a war cabin and afterwards send for them to make them sing, dance, and to torment them until they are carried to the stake.

During this time two or three young men are preparing the stake, placing the fuel near and keep their guns loaded.

When every thing is ready, he is brought and tied to the stake and finally burnt. When he is burnt up to the stomach they detach him, break all his fingers, raise the scalp which was left hanging behind by a small tongue of skin to the head. They put him to death in these agonies, after which each takes his morsel and proceeds to make merry.

1 Three or four miles.—COLDEN.

taken a pri-
; from the end

e hand.
nd girdle.
n one side is

with the hair

and that of

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brother, the

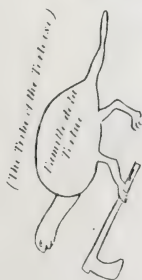
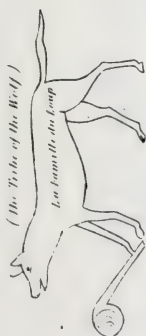
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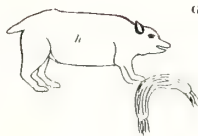
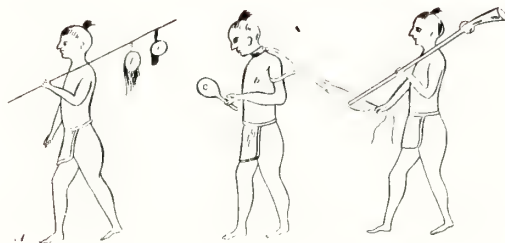
there are in
re are men.
hey belong.

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; for when

have been

men and the





EXPLANATION OF THE FIRST DESIGNS.

A. This is a person returning from war who has taken a prisoner, killed a man and a woman whose scalps hang from the end of a stick that he carries.

B. The prisoner.

C. *Chichicois* (or a gourd), which he holds in the hand.

D. These are cords attached to his neck, arms and girdle.

E. This is the scalp of a man, what is joined on one side is the scalp-lock.

F. This is the scalp of a woman; they paint it with the hair thin.

G. Council of war between the tribe of the Bear and that of the Beaver; they are brothers.

H. A Bear.

I. A Beaver.

L. Is a belt which he holds in his paws to avenge the death of some one and he is conferring about it with his brother, the Beaver.

K. Council for affairs of state.

M. The Bear.

N. The Council fire.

O. The Tortoise; so of the other tribes, each ranges at its own side.

P. Canoe going to war.

Q. Paddles. They know hereby how many men there are in the canoe, because they place as many paddles as there are men. Over these is painted the animal of the tribe to which they belong.

R. The canoe.

S. This is a man returning from hunting who has slept two nights on the hunting ground and killed three does; for when they are bucks, they add their antlers.

What is on his back, is his bundle.

T. Deer's head. This is the way they paint them.

V. This is the manner they mark the time they have been hunting. Each mark or rather each bar is a day.

Y. Fashion of painting the dead; the two first are men and the

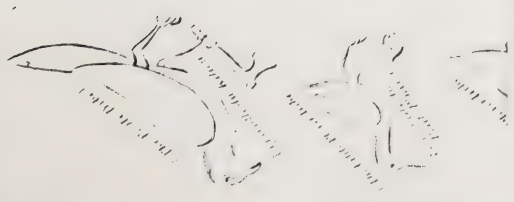
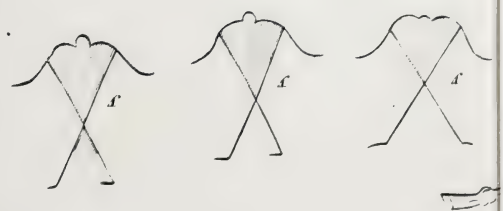
third is a woman who is distinguished only by the waistcloth that she has.

As regards the dead, they inter them with all they have. When it is a man they paint red calumets, calumets of peace on the Tomb ; some times they plant a stake on which they paint how often he has been in battle ; how many prisoners he has taken ; the post ordinarily is only four or five feet high and much embellished.

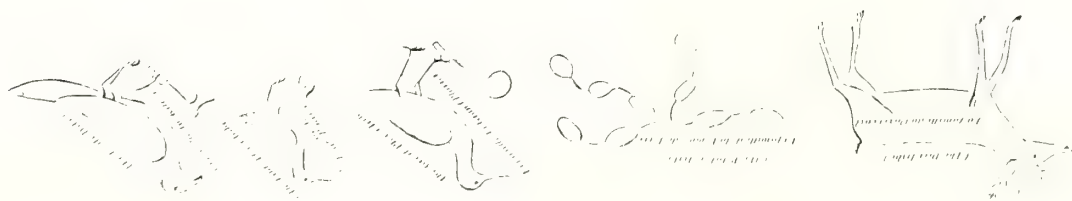
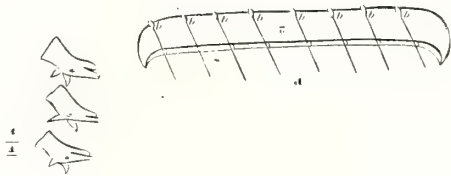
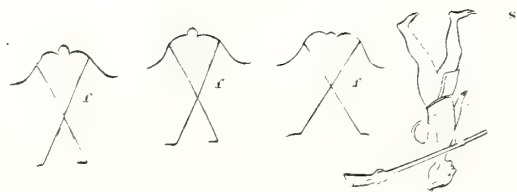
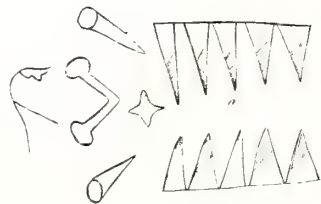
The Portrait of a Savage on a board in their cabin on which they ordinarily paint, how often he has been to war; how many men he has taken and killed.



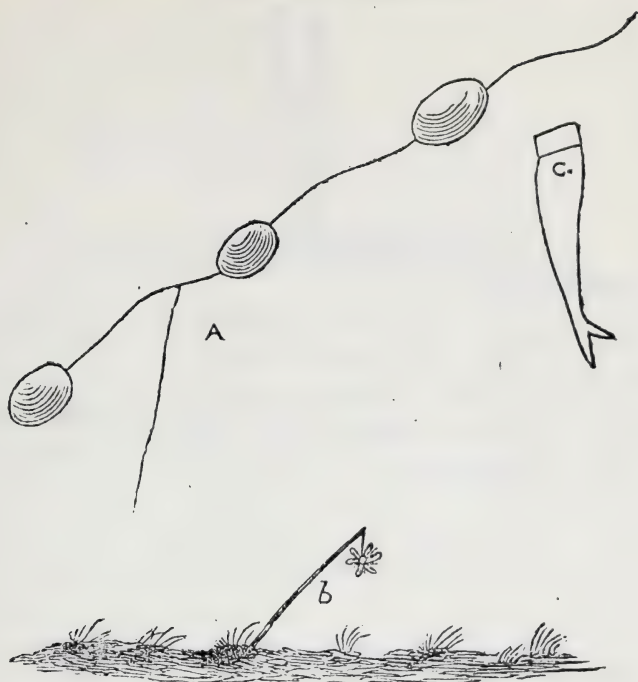
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A series of stick figures and symbols representing the 'Seven Sins of the Fathers'. The top row shows seven figures: 1. A figure holding a long staff or pole. 2. A figure holding a small sphere or ball. 3. A figure holding a long, thin object, possibly a pipe or a staff. 4. A figure holding a small, dark, rectangular object. 5. A figure holding a small, dark, rectangular object. 6. A figure holding a small, dark, rectangular object. 7. A figure holding a small, dark, rectangular object. The bottom row shows four symbols: 1. A stylized 'N' shape. 2. A stylized 'C' shape. 3. A stylized 'S' shape. 4. A stylized 'X' shape.



- a. These are the punctures on his body.
- b. This is the way they mark when they have been to war, and when there is a bar extending from one mark to the other, it signifies that after having been in battle, he did not come back to his village and that he returned with other parties whom he met or formed.
- c. This arrow, which is broken, denotes that they were wounded in this expedition.
- d. Thus they denote that the belts which they gave to raise a war party and to avenge the death of some one, belong to them or to some of the same tribe.
- e. He has gone back to fight without having entered his village.
- f. A man whom he killed on the field of battle who had a bow and arrows.
- g. These are two men whom he took prisoners, one of whom had a hatchet, and the other a gun in his hand.
- g. g. This is a woman who is designated only by a species of waistcloth.
- h. This is the way they distinguish her from the men.
Such is the mode in which they draw their portraits.



A. This is the manner they paint the tribe of the Potatoo and not as it is on the other plate.

b. Is a stick set in the ground to the extremity of which two or three pieces of wood are attached, to denote the direction in which they went when they are hunting; and on the nearest tree they paint the animal of the tribe to which they belong, with the numbers of guns they have; that is to say if they are three men, they paint three guns, if they are more and there are some who have a bow and no gun, they put down a bow.

When they return from hunting and are near the village they do the same thing and add the number of beasts they have killed—that is to say, they paint the Deer, and the Stag from the head to the neck; if some are male they add antlers; they paint the other animals entire; if they are some days at the chase they mark the number as you see on the other plate.

c. Club which they use to break the skull when they are at war.



Stake to tie the prisoners. They place his leg between these two posts in the hollow of the larger—that is the two posts catch the leg above the ankle, and they afterwards join one to the other and tie them at a man's height—some times higher, so that it is impossible to withdraw the foot without untying the cords.



OBSERVATIONS OF WENTWORTH GREENHALGH,

IN A JOURNEY FROM ALBANY TO Y^e INDIANS, WESTWARD ; BEGUN
MAY 20th, 1677, AND ENDED JULY Y^e 14 FOLLOWING.

[Lond. Doc. III.]

The Maquaes have four townes, vizt. Cahaniaga, Canagora, Canajorha, Tionondogue, besides one small village about 110 miles from Albany.

Cahaniaga is double stockadoed round ; has four forts, [ports?] about four foot wide a piece, conteyns about 24 houses, and is situate upon the edge of an hill, about a bow shott from the river side.

Canagora is only singly stockadoed ; has four ports like the former, conteyns about 16 houses ; itt is situated upon a flatt, a stone's throw from y^e water side.

Canajorha is also singly stockadoed, and the like man^r of ports and quantity of houses as Canagora ; the like situacôn ; only about two miles distant from the water.

Tionondogue is double stockadoed around, has four ports, four foot wide a piece, contains ab^t 30 houses ; is scituated on a hill a bow shott from y^e River.

The small village is without fence, and conteyns about ten houses ; lyes close by the river side, on the north side, as do all the former.

The Maquaes pass in all for about 300 fighting men.

Their Corn grows close by the River side.

Of the Situacôn of the Oneydas and Onondagoes and their Strength.

The Onyades have but one town, which lys about 130 miles westward of the Maques. Itt is situate about 20 miles from a small river which comes out of the hills to the southward, and runs into lake Teshiroque, and about 30 miles distant from the Maquaes river, which lyes to the northward ; the town is newly settled, double stockadoed, but little cleared ground, so thatt they are forced to send to the Onondagoes to buy corne ; The towne consists of about 100 houses. They are said to have about 200 fighting men, Their Corne grows round about the towne.

The Onondagoes have butt one towne, butt itt is very large ; consisting of about 140 houses, nott fenced ; is situate upon a hill thatt is very large, the banke on each side extending itself att least two miles, all cleared land, whereon the corne is planted. They have likewise a small village about two miles beyond thatt, consisting of about 24 houses. They ly to the southward of y^e west, about 36 miles from the Onyades. They plant abundance of Corne, which they sell to the Onyades. The Onondagos are said to be about 350 fighting men. They ly about 15 miles from Tshiroqui.

Of the Caiougos and Senecques, their Situacôn and Strength, &c.

The Caiougos have three townes about a mile distant from each other ; they are not stockadoed. They do in all consist of about 100 houses ; they ly about 60 miles to the southward of y^e Onondagos ; they intend the next spring to build all their houses together and stockade them ; they have abundance of Corne ; they

ly within two or three miles of the lake Tichero. They pass for about 300 fighting men.

The Senecques have four townes, vizt. Canagora, Tiotohatton, Canoenada and Keint-he. Canagora and Tiotohatton lye within 30 miles of y^e Lake ffrontenacque, and y^e other two ly about four or five miles apiece to y^e Southward of those. They have abundance of Corne. None of their towns are stockadoed.

Canagorah lyes on the top of a great hill, and in that, as well as in the bignesse, much like Onondago, contayning 150 houses, northwestward of Caiougo 72 miles. Here y^e Indyans were very desirous to see us ride our horses, w^{ch} wee did : they made great feasts and dancing, and invited us y^t when all y^e maides were together, both wee and our Indyans might choose such as lyked us to ly with.

Tiotohattan lyes on the brincke or edge of a hill ; has not much cleared ground ; is near the river Tiotehatton, w^{ch} signifies bending. It lyes to Westward of Canagorah about 30 miles, containing about 120 houses, being y^e largest of all the houses wee saw, y^e ordinary being 50 @ 60 foot long with 12 @ 13 fires in one house. They have good store of corne, growing about a mile to the Northward of the towne.

Being at this place the 17 of June, there came 50 prisoners from the Southwestward. They were of two nations, some whereof have few guns ; the other none at all. One nation is about 10 days journey from any Christians and trade onely with one greatt house, nott farr from the sea, and the other trade only, as they say, with a black people. This day of them was burnt two women, and a man and a child killed with a stone. Att night we heard a great noyse as if y^e houses had all fallen, butt itt was onely y^e Inhabitants driving away y^e ghosts of y^e murdered.

The 18th going to Canagorah, wee overtook y^e prisoners ; when the soudiers saw us they stopped each his prisoner, and made him sing, and cutt off their fingers, and slasht their bodies wth a knife, and when they had sung each man confessed how many men in his time hee had killed. Thatt day att Canagorah, there were most cruelly burnt four men, four women and one boy. The cruelty lasted aboutt seven hours. When they were almost dead

letting them loose to the mercy of y^e boys, and taking the hearts of such as were dead to feast on.

Canoenada lyes about four miles to y^e Southward of Canagorah; conteynes about 30 houses, well furnished with Corne.

Keint-he lyes aboutt four or five miles to y^e Southward of Tietehatton; contayns about 24 houses well furnished with corne.

The Senecques are counted to bee in all aboutt 1000 fighting men.

The French call the

Maques	By the name of	Les Anniez
Onyades		Les Onoyauts
Onondagos		Les Montagneurs
&		
Onondago town		La Montagne
Caiougos		Les Petuneurs
Senecques		Les Paisans
Cangaro		St. Jaques
Tiotehatton		La Conception

NOTE.—The above paper will be found also in Chalmers' Political Annals, in which, however, Greenhalgh's name is misspelt. That paper differs likewise in other respects from the MS. now followed.

ENUMERATION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

CONNECTED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA ; THE WARRIORS AND
ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF EACH NATION. 1736.

[Paris Doc. VIII.]

The Eskimaux,	}	These Nations are be- low Quebec, and be- yond my knowledge.
The Micmacs,		
The Amaleates or rather the Maneus.		

At Quebec.

The Hurons. - 1 Village 60 a 70 men bearing arms, 60

At the River St. John, near the English.

The Abenakis. - - 1 Village called Panasamsket
towards the mouth of said river. Warriors. 200

The Sbenakis at the head of said River.

1 Village called Narentchan.	Warriors.	-	-	-	150
Becancour. The Abenakis.	1 Village.	Warriors.	-	-	60
The Sbenakis. At St. Francis.	1 Village.	War.	-	-	180
including those of Michikoui and those who migrate.					

The armorial bearings (Totums) of this
Nation, which is divided into two sections,
are the Pigeon (*tourtrel*) and the Bear.

There are besides some tribes who carry the Par-
tridge, the Beaver and the Otter.

At Three Rivers. See Montreal.

The Algonquins. - fifteen men. - - - 15

The Têtes de Boule or Tribes of the Interior.

These are wandering Savages who have no knowledge either of the order or form of villages, and those who evince the least intellect (*esprit*); they inhabit the mountains and the lakes from Three Rivers, in the interior, to Lake Superior. Their armorial bearings (Totums) are unknown, if they have any.

Boston and Orange.

The Loups (Mohegans) who understand the Sabenakis and whom the Sabenakis understand are dispersed from Boston to Virginia, which is equal to from Lake Champlain to the head of Lake Erie—300 leagues. This nation may be six hundred men, under British rule. No person could give me any information of their customs. This only by way of remark.

Montreal.

Algonquins. They are twenty men settled with the Iroquois of the Two Mountains; this is all that remains of a nation the most warlike, most polished and the most attached to the French. They have for armorial bearings an Evergreen Oak (*chêne vert*.)

20

At the Lake of the Two Mountains.

The Nepissingues. A part of this Tribe is incorporated with the Iroquois. The remainder has its village at the lake of the same name. There are here fifty men bearing arms.

50

The armorial bearings of this Nation are the Heron for the *Achagué*, or Heron tribe; the Beaver for the Amekoves; the Birch for the Bark tribe (*la famille de l'Ecorce*); Blood for the Miskouaha or the Bloody people.

Remark, Sir, if you please, that besides the bearings of the principal stocks to which I exclusively confine myself, leisure not permitting me to obtain thorough details, each tribe distinguishes itself by peculiar devices. The Iroquois who are masters of this village, amount to no more than sixty-three—I mean warriors.

60

At Sault St. Louis.

The Iroquois, who compose exclusively the village are nearly three hundred and three bearing arms.

300

These two villages proceeding from the Iroquois of Lake Ontario, or Frontenac, have the same armorial devices. Three principal tribes carry the Wolf, the Bear and the Tortoise.

NOTE.—*Argent*, to the Wolf *gules*, &c.

They usually ornament them merely with charcoal.

The Great River of the Outawas.

At Lake Nepissingue there is one small village of thirty men, who bear a Squirrel, *Atchitams*.

30

River and Lake Themiscaming.

The Tabittibis are one hundred warriors.

100

They have for device an Eagle.

At the mouth of the Themiscaming there are twenty warriors.

20

At the head of the Lake twenty domiciled.

20

These savages are what are called *Têtes de Boule*, who amount to over six hundred in the Northern country.

600

I shall speak of them hereafter without reference to their numbers.

At Missilimakinak

The Outawas of this village amount to one hundred and eighty warriors; the two principal branches

 1865

are Kiskakous (1) and Sinago (2); the	1865
Bear (1) and Black Squirrel (2). - - -	180

River Missisagué.

The Missisagués on the river number thirty men, and	
twenty men on the Island called Manitoua-	
tim of Lake Huron. - - - -	50
And have for device, a Crane.	

Lake Superior—At the Mouth.

At Sault St. Mary are the Sauteurs, to the number of	
thirty; they are in two divisions, and have	
for devices, the Crane and the Vine, (<i>la</i>	
<i>Barbue.</i>) - - - - -	30
North of this Lake is Michipicoton.	

The Papinakois and those of the interior; the first are	
twenty warriors, and have for device, a	
Hare. - - - - -	20

River Ounepigon.

The Oskemanettigons are domiciled there to the num-	
ber of forty warriors. - - -	40
They have for device, the bird called the	
Fisher.	

The Monsonies, who are migratory, estimate them-	
selves two hundred men, and have for de-	
vice, the Moose. - - - - -	200

The Abettibis and the *Têtes de Boule* come there also. Some have informed me that the first have for arms the Partridge with the Eagle. I have already stated that they are in all one hundred warriors.

The Namesilinis have one hundred and fifty fit to bear	
arms. They have for device, a Sturgeon.	150

The tribes of the Savannas, one hundred and forty	
warriors strong, have for armorial device,	
a Hare. - - - - -	140

2675

Gamanettigoya.

The Ouacé are in number sixty men, and have for device a Vine, (*une Barbue*). - - 60

Tecamamiouen, or Rainy Lake—(Lac de la Pluie.)

These savages are the same as those who come to Nepigon. They are about this lake to the number of one hundred men. - - 100

Lake of the Woods—(Lac des Bois.)

The Cristinaux are scattered hereabout, to the number of two hundred warriors. They have for device the Bustard, (*l'Outarde*). - - 200

Lake Ounepigon.

The Cristinaux are around this lake to the number of sixty men. - - - - - 60

Assenipoels. See *Scioux*.

South of Lake Superior.

Kiouanan. In this quarter there are domiciled forty Sauteurs, who have for device the Crane and the Stag. - - - - - 40

The Sauteurs of Point Chagouamigon are one hundred and fifty warriors, - - - - - 150

The Scioux are at the head of this lake in the woods and along the lakes. Though scattered they are computed at three hundred men, - 300

The Scioux of the Prairies are, in the opinion of voyageurs, over two thousand men, - - 2000

Their armorial devices are the Buffalo, the Black Dog, and the Otter.

The Assenipoels, or Pouans according to others, can vie with the Scioux, from whom they formerly sprung. They number one hundred and fifty to the south of Lake Ounepigon, and have for device, a Big Stone or a Rock. 150

 5735

5735

The Puans have withdrawn, since 1728, to the Scioux,
to the number of eighty; they have for
armorial bearings, the Stag, the Polecat
(*Pichoux*), the Tiger, - - - - 80

The head of Lake Superior.

The Ayo8ois are settled at the south of the River de
Missouris, at the other side of the Missis-
sippi. They are no more than eighty. They 80
have for device a Fox.

Lake Michigan with its dependancies.

The Folles Avoines, north of this lake, number one
hundred and sixty warriors. The most con- 160
siderable tribes have for device, the Large
tailed Bear, the Stag, a Kiliou—that is a
species of Eagle (the most beautiful bird of
this country,)—perched on a cross.

In explanation of a cross forming the armorial bear-
ings of the savages, it is stated that formerly a Chief of
the Folles Avoines finding himself dangerously sick,
consented, after trying the ordinary remedies, to see a
Missionary, who, cross in hand, prayed to God for his
recovery, and obtained it from his mercy. In gratitude
for this benefit, the Chief desired that to his arms should
be added a Cross on which the Kiliou has ever since
been always perched.

Poutesatamis. In 1728 there was a village of this
name retired on an island to the number of 20

The Bay. At the head of this Lake is the sojourn, or
rather the country of the Sakis. This na-
tion could put under arms one hundred and
fifty men. Others do not count but one 150
hundred and twenty. They have for de-
vice, a Crab, a Wolf, and a She-Bear.

Fox River.

Fox river discharges into this Lake. This nation now migratory, consists, when not separated, still of one hundred men bearing arms, - - - - - 100

They have for device, a Fox.

The Kickapous, formerly their allies, may be eighty men. They bear for device the Pheasant and the Otter, - - - - - 80


The Maskoutin has for armorial device the Wolf and the Stag. This nation is estimated at sixty men, - - - - - 60

River St. Joseph, south of Lake Michigan.

The Pottesatamies, who call themselves the Governor's eldest sons, compose the village of St. Joseph, to the number of one hundred warriors, - - - - - 100

The principal families have for device the Golden Carp, the Frog, the Crab, the Tortoise.

There are in the village about ten Miamis who bear in their arms, a Crane, - - - 10

Eight Illinois Kaskakias are also included whose device is a feather of an arrow,  notched ; (X) or two arrows supported one against the other in *sal-tier* (like a St. Andrew's cross.)

These are the nations best known to us as well along the great river of the Outawas as north and south of Lakes Superior and Michigan. I propose now proceeding again from Montreal by way of the Lakes to Missilimakinak.

From Montreal on the Lake route, I spoke of Sault St. Louis, on the first sheet.

Toniata.

Some Iroquois, to the number of eight or ten men have retired to this quarter. Their device, is without doubt, like that of the village from which issue the Deer, the Plover, &c., as hereafter, - - - - - 10

Lake Ontario, or south of Frontenac.

There are no more Iroquois settled.

The Mississagués are dispersed along this lake, some at Kenté, others at the River Toronto, and finally at the head of the Lake, to the number of one hundred and fifty in all, and at Matchedach, - - - - - 150

The principal tribe is that of the Crane.

North of Lake Ontario.

The Iroquois are in the interior and in five villages, about fifteen leagues from the Lake, on a pretty straight line, altho' one days journey distant from each other. This nation, though much diminished, is still powerful.

South of Lake Frontenac.

The Onondagoes number two hundred warriors. The device of the village is a Cabin on the top of a mountain, - - - - - 200

The Mohawks, towards New-England, not far from Orange (Albany) are eighty men, and have for device of the village a *Battefeu* [a Steel] and a flint, - - - - - 80

The Oneidas, their neighbours, number one hundred men or a hundred warriors, - - - - - 100

This village has for device a Stone in a fork of a tree, or in a tree notched with some blows of an axe.

7115

The Cayugas form a village of one hundred and twenty warriors. Their device generally is a very large Calumet, - - - - -

126

The Senecas form two villages in which are three hundred and fifty men. Their device is a big Mountain, - - - - -

350

Besides the arms of each village, each tribe has its own, and every man has his particular mark to designate him. Thus the Oneida designates his village by a Stone [in] a fork—next he designates his tribe by the bird or animal, and finally he denotes himself by his punctures. See the designs which I had the honor to send you in 1732 by Father Francois, the Recollet.

The five villages which belong to the same tribe, have for their arms in common, the Plover, to which I belong ;¹ the Bear, the Tortoise, the Eel, the Deer, the Beaver, the Potatoe, the Falcon, the Lark, and the Partridge.

I doubt not but the other nations are as well distinguished, but our voyageurs, having little curiosity in these matters, have not been able to give me any information.

The Tuscarorens have a village of two hundred and fifty men near the Onondagoes, who brought them along. I know not their hieroglyphics, - - - - -

250

The Iroquois have some cabins at the Portage, (Niagara, Lake Ontario.)

7835

¹ M. DE JONCAIRE, the supposed author of this Report, is here thought to be alluded to. He was adopted at an early period by the Senecas, among whom he had much influence.

		7835
<i>Lake Erie and Dependancies, on the South Side.</i>		
The Chaouanons towards Carolina, are two hundred men.	- - - - -	200
The Flatheads, Cherakis, Chicachas, Totiris, are included under the name of Flatheads by the Iroquois, who estimate them at over six thousand men, in more than thirty villages. They have told me they had for device a Vessel, (<i>un Vaisseau.</i>)		6,000
The Ontationoué, that is those who speak the language of men; so called by the Iroquois because they understand each other—may be fifty men. I am ignorant of them.	- -	50
The Miamis have for device the Hind and the Crane. These are the two principal tribes. There is likewise that of the Bear. They are two hundred men, bearing arms.	- -	200
The Ouyattanons, Peanguichias, Petikokias, are the same Nation, though in different villages. They can place under arms three hundred and fifty men.	- - - - -	350
The devices of these savages are the Serpent, the Deer, and the Small Acorn.		
The Illinois, Metchigamias at Fort Chartres, number two hundred and fifty men.	- -	250
The Kaskakias, six leagues below, have a village of one hundred warriors.	- - -	100
The Peorias, at the Rock, are fifty men.	- -	50
The Kaokias, or Tamarois, can furnish two hundred men,		200
All those savages comprehended under the name of Illinois have, for device, the Crane, the Bear, the White Hind, the Fork, the Tortoise.		

River of the Missouris.

The Missouris.

The Okams or Kamsé, the Sotos, and the Panis.

15235

This only as a note, not knowing any thing of these Nations except the name.

Lake Erie.—The Detroit.

The Hurons at present are two hundred men, bearing arms. - - - - - 200

They mark the Tortoise, the Bear and the Plover.

The Pouteouatamis have a village there of one hundred and eighty men.* They bear for device the Golden Carp, the Frog, the Crab, the Tortoise. (See, *South of Lake Michigan; River St. Joseph.*) - - - - - 180

The Outawas there have two villages, composed one of the tribe of Sinagos; the other of Kiskakous, and may count two hundred warriors. 200

They have the same devices as those of Missilimakinak; that is to say, the Bear and Black Squirrel.

Lake St. Clair, which leads to Lake Huron.

At the end of the Little Lake St. Clair, there is a small village of Mississagués, which numbers sixty men. - - - - - 60

They have the same devices as the Mississagués of Manitouatin and of Lake Ontario; that is to say, a Crane.

Lake Huron.

I have spoken before of the Mississagués who are to the North of this Lake.

I do not know, on the South side, but the Outawas, who have at Saguinan a village of eighty men, and for device the Bear and Squirrel. 80

15955

Less, - - - - - 80

15875

* *Note in Orig.* Instead of 180, only 100 men must be counted.

Remark.

All the Northern Nations have this in common; that a man who goes to war denotes himself as much by the device of his wife's tribe as by that of his own, and never marries a woman who carries a similar device to his.

If time permitted, you would, Sir, have been better satisfied with my researches.

I would have written to the Interpreters of the Posts, who would have furnished me with more certain information than that I could obtain from the *Voyageurs* whom I questioned. I am engaged at the history of the Scioux, which you have asked from Monsieur de Linerot.

Missilimakinak.

PRESENT STATE OF THE NORTHERN INDIANS

IN THE DEPART^t OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON BART., COMPREHENDED UNDER THE SIX NATIONS AND OTTAWA CONFEDERACIES, ETC., CONTAINING THE NAMES, NUMBERS AND SCITUATION OF EACH NATION, WITH REMARKS. NOV. 18, 1763.

[Lond. Doc. XXXVI.]

SIX NATION CONFEDERACY, COMPREHENDING THAT OF CANADA, OHIO, &c.			
<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number of men.</i>	<i>Scituation.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Mohocks,	160	Two villages on the Mohock river, with a few emigrants at Scohare about 16 miles from Fort Hunter.	Of the Six Nations the Mohawks or Mohocks, Onondages and Senecas are considered as the chief and elder branches. The Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras are younger; the last mentioned Nation having many years ago retired from the South, and were admitted into the confederacy with the then
Oneidas,	250	Two villages, one 25 miles from Fort Stanwix, the other twelve miles west of Oneida Lake, with emigrants in several places towards the Susquehanna river.	

SIX NATION CONFEDERACY—CONTINUED.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number of men.</i>	<i>Scituation.</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Tuscaroras,	140	One village 6 miles from the first Oneidas, and several others about the Susquehanna.	Five Nations, the Oneidas giving them land and they now enjoy all priviledges with the rest.
Onondagas,	150	One large village 6 miles from the lake of their name (which is the place of Congress for the confederates) with a smaller at some distance.	
Cayugas,	200	One large village near the Lake of their name with several others from thence to the Susquehanna.	
Senecas,	1050	Have several villages, beginning about 50 m. from Cayuga, and from thence to Chenussio, the largest about 70 m from Niagara, with others thence to the Ohio.	Of the Senecas, two villages are still in our interest, vizt. Kanadasero and Kanaderagey, the rest have joined the Western Nations.
Oswegachys,	80	Emigrants from the Six Nations chiefly Onondages settled at La Galette on the river St. Lawrence.	These are at peace with the English.
Nanticokes, Conoys, Tutecoos, Saponeys, ettc. }	200	A people removed from the southward, and settled on and about the Susquehanna on lands allotted by the Six Nations.	These people are immediately under the direction of the Six Nations, and at peace with the English.
INDIANS OF CANADA IN ALLIANCE WITH THE SIX NATIONS.			
Caghnawagas,	300	Emigrants from the Mohocks, settled at Soult St. Louis near Montreal, with emigrants at Aghquissasne, below la Galette which is the seat of a Mission.	All these Nations are in alliance with the Six Nations, and warmly attached to the British Interest, as are all the other Indians in Canada. Caghnawaga is the seat of a Mission, as is the village of Lac du deux Montagnes.
Canassadagas, } Arundacks, } Algonkins, }	150	These three Nations now reside together, at the Lac du deux Montagnes at the mouth of the Ottawa river near Montreal.	
Abenauquis,	100	Their village having been burned at St. Francis below Mont-	
			These Indians are originally from New-England: if they were all

SIX NATION CONFEDERACY—CONTINUED.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number of men.</i>	<i>Situation.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
		real during the war, they have since lived scattered except a few	collected they would amount to more than is represented. They have likewise a Mis- sionary who is a Je- suit.
Skaghquanoghronos,	40	Reside at Trois Rivières, they are originally Al- gonkins.	
Hurons,	40	Reside at Loretto near Quebec, a very civil- ized people.	(There are several oth- er Nations to the North- ward, who avoid any connection with the white people: and as they have no fixed resi- dence, their numbers, though considerable, cannot be ascertained.)
INDIANS OF OHIO.			
Shawanese,	300	Removed to the River Sioto, and other Bran- ches.	These people are great- ly influenced by the Senecas, and reside on land allotted them by the permission of the Six Nations. They are now at war with the English.
Delawares,	600	In several villages on and about the Susque- hanna, Muskingham, etc. and thence to Lake Erie.	
Wiandots, etc.	200	Some villages in the neighborhood of San- dosky Fort near Lake Erie.	
Total,	3960	There are also in the Six Nation Confederacy, many Indians, whose numbers cannot be comput- ed as they have no fixed residence.	

OTTAWA CONFEDERACY COMPREHENDING THE TWIGHTWEES, ETC.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number of men.</i>	<i>Situation.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Wyandots or Hurons,	250	Reside opposite Detroit, their village is the seat of a Jesuit Mission, their language bears affinity with that of the Six Nations.	This Nation has a great influence over the rest, and has been greatly instigated by the neighboring French to commit acts of hostility.
Powewatamis, in the neighbourhood of Detroit,	150	Resided about a mile below the Fort, but abandoned their village on the commencement of hostilities.	

OTTAWA CONFEDERACY—CONTINUED.			
Names.	Number of men.	Situation.	Remarks.
In the neighbourhood of St Joseph.	230	A little below the fort.	
Ottawas, residing in the neighbourhood of Detroit.	300	Resided about Detroit, but with the former, form a flying camp.	With these and the above Indians are joined several others, who form a flying camp under <i>Pondiac</i> , an Ottawa Chief.
In the neighbourhood of Michilimakinac.	250	Resided in different villages, but are now probably with the former. Michilimakinac is the seat of a Mission.	The Ottawas in the neighbourhood of Michilimakinac are well attached to us for the most part.
In the neighbourhood of Fort St. Joseph,	150	Resided at a small distance after the reduction of the Fort probably joined the rest.	
Chipeweighs or Mississagais: in the neighbourhood of Detroit.	320	Resided above the Detroit, now probably in arms with the rest.	These are the most numerous of all the Ottawa Confederacy and have many villages about Lakes Superior, Huron, Erie, etc., whose numbers cannot at present be ascertained with exactness.
In the neighbourhood of Michilimakinac	400	Had several different villages in that country, and the environs of the Lake Huron.	
Meynomenys	110	All these nations reside on the west side of la Baye at Lake Michigan and in the neighbourhood of the Fort there.	These nations are at present in alliance with the Ottawa Confederacy, but appear inclined to our interest, nor did they take the fort at La Baye, the officer abandoning it on the news of the rupture as he could make no defence.
Folsavains	110		
Puans	360		
Sakis	300		
Foxes	320		
MIAMIS OR TWIGHTWEES.			
Twightwees,	230	Near the Fort on the Miamis river.	The Twightwees were originally a very powerful people, who, having been subdued by the Six Nations were permitted to enjoy their possessions. There are many tribes and villages of them, but these are all who are perfectly known.
Kickapous	180	These nations reside in the neighbourhood of the Fort at Wawiaghta, and about the Wapache river.	
Mascoutens	90		
Piankashaws	100		
Wawiaghtonos	200		
Ottawas, Chipeweighs, etc.	4000	Residing thro' all the extent of country from the Lakes to the Great Ottawa River, and abt. Lake Superior, etc.	This is the most exact computation that can be made of these numerous people, who are scattered through-

OTTAWA CONFEDERACY—CONTINUED.			
<i>Names.</i>	<i>Number of men.</i>	<i>Scituation.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Illinois number uncertain.			out the Northern Parts and who having few places of fixed residence, subsisting entirely by hunting, cannot be ascertained as those of their confederacy, residing near the outposts.
		Reside about the Illinois River and hence to the Mississippi.	We have hitherto had nothing to do with these people, who are numerous and variously computed. The Six Nations claim their country, but their right of conquest thereto does not appear so clear as to the rest, as represented in the letter herewith.
Sioux number uncertain.		Reside in the country westward of [One line cut off here in binding the original.] Mississippi, they are much addicted to wandering and live mostly in camps.	The Sioux who are the most numerous of the Northern Indians, are little known to us, they not appear well affected to the Western Indians, and promise to send Deputies to me in the spring.
Total,	8020		

November 18th, 1763.

WM. JOHNSON.

II.
PAPERS

RELATING TO

The First Settlement at Onondaga,

AND

THE DISCOVERY OF THE SALT SPRINGS AT SALINA.

Anno 1654—8.

VOYAGE OF FATHER SIMON LE MOINE

TO THE COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS ONONDAGOES, IN JULY, AUGUST
AND SEPTEMBER, 1654.

[Relation de la N. France és années, 1653 and 1654.]

On the second day of the month of July, the festival of the Visitation of the Most Holy Virgin always friendly to our undertakings, Father LeMoine departed from Quebec on a voyage to the Iroquois Onondagoes. He passed Three Rivers, and from thence by Montreal, where a young man of good courage, and an old *habitant*, joined him, with much piety. I shall follow the Father's Journal for greater facility.

On the 17th day of July, St. Alexis' day, we left home with this great and holy traveller, and departed for a land unknown to us. On the 18th, following always the course of the River St. Lawrence, we met nothing but breakers and impetuous rapids, all strewed with rocks and shoals.

The 19th. This river grows wider and forms a lake, agreeable to the view, from eight to ten leagues in length. At night, an army of troublesome mosquitoes foreboded the rain which poured down on us the whole of the night. To be in such circumstances without any shelter except the trees, which Nature has produced ever since the creation of the world, is a pastime more innocent and agreeable than could be anticipated.

20th. Nothing but islands, in appearance the most beautiful, which intersect here and there this very quiet river. The land on the north bank appears to us excellent; there is a range of high mountains towards the east, which we called St. Margaret's.

21st. Continuation of the islands. In the evening we break

our bark canoe; it rains all night. The naked rocks serve us for bed, mattress and all. Whoever hath God with him reposes quietly every where.

22d. The precipices of water which for a while are no longer navigable oblige us to carry on our shoulders both our baggage and the canoe which carried us. At the other side of the Rapid, I perceived a herd of wild cows which were passing at their ease in great state. Five or six hundred are seen sometimes in these regions in one drove.

23d and 24th of the month. Our pilot being hurt, we must remain a prey to the mosquitoes, and have patience, often more difficult in regard to the inconveniences which have no intermission neither night nor day, than to behold death before one's eyes.

25th. The river is so very rapid that we are obliged to throw ourselves in the stream to drag our canoe after us, amid the rocks, as a cavalier, dismounting, leads his horse by the bridle. At night we arrive at the entrance of Lake St. Ignatius, in which eels abound in a prodigious quantity.

26th. A high wind with rain forces us to debark, after having made four leagues. A hut is soon built. The neighbouring trees are stript of their bark; this is thrown on poles set in the ground on either side, bringing them together in the form of an arbor; and then our house is built. Ambition finds no entrance into this palace. It failed not to be as agreeable to us as if the roof was all covered with gold.

27th. We coasted along the shores of the lake; they are rocks on one side and the other, of an immense height, now frightful, now pleasing to the sight. It is wonderful how large trees can find root among so many rocks.

28th. Thunder, lightning and a deluge of rain oblige us to shelter ourselves under our canoe, which being inverted, serves us for a house.

29th and 30th July. A rain storm continues, which arrests us at the entrance of a great lake, called Ontario. We call it the Lake of the Iroquois, because they have their villages on the south side there. The Hurons are on the other shore, farther on

in the interior. This lake is twenty leagues wide ; its length about forty.

31st. St. Ignatius' day. The rain and storm force us to seek for lost roads. We cross long islands, carrying our baggage, provisions and canoe on our shoulders. The road seems long to a poor weary man.

On the first day of the month of August, some Iroquois fishermen having perceived us from a distance, get together to receive us. One of them runs towards us, advancing a half a league to communicate the earliest news and the state of the country. It is a Huron prisoner, and a good Christian, whom I formerly instructed during a winter that I passed among the savages. This poor lad could not believe that it was he whom he never hoped to see again. We disembarked at a little village of fishermen. They crowd as to who shall carry our baggage. But alas! they are apparently only Huron squaws, and for the most part Christian women, formerly rich and at their ease, whom captivity has reduced to servitude. They requested me to pray to God, and I had the consolation to confess there at my leisure Hostagehtak, our antient host of the Petun Nation. His sentiments and devotion drew tears from my eyes ; he is the fruit of the labors of Father Charles Garnier, that holy missionary whose death has been so precious before God.

The second day of August. We walked about twelve to fifteen leagues in the woods. We camp where the day closes.

The 3d. At noon we find ourselves on the bank of a river, one hundred or one hundred and twenty paces wide, beyond which there was a hamlet of fishermen. An Iroquois whom I at one time had treated kindly at Montreal, put me across in his canoe, and through respect carried me on his shoulders, being unwilling to suffer me to wet my feet. Every one received me with joy, and these poor people enriched me from their poverty. I was conducted to another village a league distant, where there was a young man of consideration who made a feast for me because I bore his father's name, Ondessonk. The Chiefs came to harangue us, the one after the other. I baptized little skeletons who

awaited, perhaps, only this drop of the precious blood of Jesus Christ.

4th. They ask me why we are dressed in black ? and I take occasion to speak to them of our mysteries with great attention. They bring me a little moribund whom I call Dominick. The time is passed when they used to hide the little innocents from us. They took me for a great Medicine-man, having no other remedy for the sick but a pinch of sugar. We pursued our route—in the middle of which we found our dinner waiting for us. The nephew of the first Chief of the country, who is to lodge me in his cabin, is deputed by his uncle to escort us, bringing us every delicacy that the season could afford, especially new corn bread, and ears (of corn) which we had roasted at the fire. We slept again that day by the beautiful light of the stars.

5th. We had to make four leagues before arriving at the principal Onondaga village. There is nothing but comers and goers on the road who come to salute me. One treats me as brother ; another as uncle—never did I have such a number of relations. A quarter of a league from the village I began a harangue, which gained me much credit. I named all the Chiefs, the families and persons of note in a drawling voice and with the tone of a chief. I told them that Peace walked along with me ; that I drove War afar off among the distant nations, and that Joy accompanied me. Two Chiefs made their speech to me on my arrival, but with a gladness and cheerfulness of countenance which I never had seen among savages. Men, women and children, all were respectful and friendly.

At night I called the principal men together to make them two presents. The first to wipe their faces, so that they may regard me with a kindly eye, and that I may never see a trace of sorrow on their foreheads. The second to clear out the little gall which they still might have in their hearts. After several other discourses they retired to consult together, and finally they responded to my presents by two other presents richer than mine.

6th. I was called to divers quarters to administer my medicine to weakly and hectic little things. I baptized some of them.

I confessed some of our old Huron Christians, and found God every where, and that He pleased to work himself in hearts where faith reigns. He builds himself a temple there, where he is adored in spirit and truth. Be He blessed for ever.

At night our host draws me aside and tells me very affectionately that he always loved us, that finally his heart was satisfied, seeing all the tribes of his nation demanded nothing but peace: that the Seneca had recently come to exhort them to manage this matter well for peace, and that with that view he had made splendid presents: that the Cayuga had brought three belts for that purpose, and that the Oneida was glad to be rid of such a bad affair through his means, and that he desired nothing but peace: that the Mohawk would, no doubt, follow the others, and thus I might take courage, since I bore with me the happiness of the whole land.

7th. A good Christian named Terese, a Huron captive, wishing to pour out her soul to me away from noise and in silence, invited me to visit her in a field cabin where she lived. My God! What sweet consolation to witness so much faith in savage hearts, in captivity, and without other assistance than that of heaven. God raises up Apostles every where. This good Christian woman had with her a young captive of the neutral nation (*de la Nation Neutre*), whom she loved as her own daughter. She had so well instructed her in the mysteries of the faith, and in sentiments of piety, in the prayers they made in this holy solitude, that I was much surprised. Eh! sister, I asked, why did you not baptise her, since she has the faith like you, and she is Christian in her morals, and she wishes to die a Christian? Alas, brother, this happy captive replied, I did not think it was allowed me to baptise, except in danger of death. Baptise her now, yourself, since you consider her worthy, and give her my name. This was the first adult baptism at Onondago; we are indebted for it to the piety of a Huron.

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GENERAL COUNCIL OF PEACE WITH THE FOUR IROQUOIS NATIONS,

AND THE SUBSEQUENT RETURN OF FATHER SIMON LE MOINE FROM HIS VOYAGE.

[From the Same.]

On the 10th day of August, the deputies of the three neighbouring Nations having arrived, after the usual summons of the Chiefs that all should assemble in Ondessonk's cabin, I opened the proceedings (says the Father, continuing his Journal) by public prayer, which I said on my knees and in a loud voice, all in the Huron tongue. I invoked the Great Master of heaven and of earth to inspire us with what should be for his glory and our good ; I cursed all the demons of hell who are spirits of division ; I prayed the tutelar angels of the whole country to touch the hearts of those who heard me, when my words should strike their ear.

I greatly astonished them when they heard me naming all by nations, by tribes, by families and each particular individual of any note, and all by aid of my manuscript, which was a matter as wonderful as it was new. I told them I was the bearer of nineteen words to them.

The first : That it was Onnonthio, M. de Lauzon, Governor of New France, who spoke by my mouth, and then the Hurons and the Algonquins as well as the French, for all these three nations had Onnonthio for their Great Chief. A large belt of wampum, one hundred little tubes or pipes of red glass, the diamonds of the country, and a caribou's hide being passed : these three presents made but one word.

My second word was, to cut the bonds of the eight Seneca prisoners, taken by our allies and brought to Montreal, as already stated.

The third was, to break the bonds of the Mohegans also, captured about the same time.

The fourth ; to thank those of Onontago for having brought our prisoner back.

The fifth present was, to thank the Senecas for having saved him from the scaffold.

The sixth for the Cayuga Iroquois, for having also contributed.

The seventh, for the Oneidas for having broken the bonds which kept him a prisoner.

The 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th presents to be given to the four Iroquois Nations—a hatchet each—for the new war they were waging against the Cat Nation.

The twelfth present was to heal the head of the Seneca who had lost some of his people.

The thirteenth, to strengthen his palissades ; to wit, that he may be in a state of defence against the enemy.

The fourteenth, to ornament his face : for it is the custom of warriors here never to go to battle unless with the face painted, some black, some red, others with various other colors, each having herein as if particular liveries to which they cling even unto death.

The fifteenth to concentrate all their thoughts. I made three presents for this occasion ; one wampum belt, little glass beads and an elk hide.

The sixteenth—I opened Annonchiasse's door to all the Nations ; that is, they would be welcome among us.

The seventeenth. I exhorted them to become acquainted with the truths of our faith, and made three presents for this object.

The eighteenth. I asked them not to prepare henceforward any ambushes for the Algonquin and Huron Nations, who would come to visit us in our French settlement. I made three presents for this purpose.

Finally, by the nineteenth present I wiped away the tears of all the young warriors for the death of their great Chief Annencraos, a short time prisoner with the Cat Nation.

At each present they heaved a powerful ejaculation from the bottom of the chest in testimony of their joy. I was full two hours making my whole speech, talking like a Chief, and walking about like an actor on a stage, as is their custom.

After that they grouped together apart in nations and tribes, calling to them a Mohawk who by good luck was there. They consulted together for the space of two hours longer. Finally they called me among them and seated me in an honorable place.

The Chief who is the tongue of the country, repeats faithfully as orator the substance of all my words. Then all set to singing in token of their gratification ; I was told to pray God on my side, which I did very willingly. After these songs he spoke to me in the name of his Nation. 1. He thanked Onnontio for his good disposition towards them, and brought forward for this purpose two large belts of wampum.

2. He thanked us in the name of the Mohawk Iroquois for having given their lives to five of their allies of the Mohegan Nation. Two other belts for that.

3. He thanked us in the name of the Seneca Iroquois for having drawn five of their tribe out of the fire. Two more belts. Ejaculations from the whole assembly follow each present.

Another Captain of the Oneida Nation rises : Onnontio, said he—speaking of M. de Lauzon our Governor—Onnontio thou art the pillar of the Earth ; thy spirit is a spirit of peace and thy words soften the hearts of the most rebellious spirits. After other compliments expressed in a tone animated by love and respect, he produced four large belts to thank Onnontio for having encouraged them to fight bravely against their new enemies of the Cat Nation, and for having exhorted them never again to war against the French. Thy voice, said he, Onnontio is wonderful, to produce in my breast at one time two effects entirely dissimilar ; thou animatest me to war, and softenest my heart by the thoughts of peace ; thou art great both in peace and war, mild to those whom thou lovest, and terrible to thine enemies. We wish thee to love us, and we will love the French for thy sake.

In concluding these thanks, the Onontaga Chief took up the word. Listen Ondessonk, said he to me ; five entire nations speak to thee through my mouth. My breast contains the sentiments of the Iroquois Nations, and my tongue responds faithfully to my breast. Thou wilt tell Onnontio four things, the sum of all our councils.

1. We are willing to acknowledge Him of whom thou hast spoken, who is the master of our lives, who is unknown to us.

2. Our council tree is this day planted at Onnontaga—meaning that that would be, henceforth, the place of their meetings and of their negotiations for peace.

2. We conjure you to select on the banks of our great lake an advantageous site for a French settlement. Fix yourself in the heart of the country, since you ought to possess our hearts. There we shall go for instruction, and from that point you will be able to spread yourself abroad in every direction. Be unto us careful as fathers and we shall be unto you submissive as children.

4. We are engaged in new wars; Onnontio encourages us. We shall entertain no other thought towards him than those of peace.

They reserved their richest presents for these last four words; but I can assure you their countenances told more than their tongues, and expressed joy mingled with so much mildness that my heart was full. What appeared to me most endearing in all this was that all our Huron Christians and the captive women, lighted this fire which melts the hearts of the Iroquois. They told them so much good of us, and spoke so often of the great value of the Faith, that they prize it without being acquainted with it; and they love us in the hope that we shall be for them what we have been for the Indians. To return to the Father's Journal:

The 11th day of August. There is nothing but feasts and rejoicings every where. A misfortune occurred, however, at night. A cabin catching fire, no one knew how, an impetuous wind drove the flames to the others, and in less than two hours more than twenty were reduced to ashes, and the remainder of the village was in danger of being burnt. God preserved all hearts however in the joy of the preceding day, and their dispositions as calm towards me as if this misfortune had never happened.

The 12th. Our Christian captives wishing to confess before my departure gave me employment, or rather repose which I wished for. I baptized a little girl of four years who was dying. I recovered from the hands of these barbarians, the New Testament of the late Father Jean de Breboul, whom they put to a

cruel death five years ago, and a small book of devotion which was used by the late Father Charles Garnier whom they also killed four years ago.

* * * * *

The 13th. Came the leave taking. Observing the custom of friends on similar occasions, having convoked the Council, I made them two presents to console them. And with this view I first planted in the name of Achiendassé (which is the appellation of the General Superior of all our Society's Missions in these countries) the first post on which to begin a cabin. This is like laying the first stone in France of a house one intends to build. My second present was to throw down the first bark that is to cover the cabin. This evidence of affection satisfied them, and three of their Chiefs thanked me publicly in speeches which one could not be persuaded issued from the lips of men called savages.

* * * * *

Nevertheless they seek me every where to give me my parting feast, all the men and women of consideration being invited in my name into our cabin, according to the custom of the country, in order to do honor to my departure. We part in good company. After the public cry of the Chief, every one vies to carry our little baggage.

About half a league from there we found a group of old men, all Chiefs of the Council, who waited to bid me Adieu hoping for my return for which they ardently testified their wishes.

16th. We arrive at the entrance of a small lake in a large half dried basin ; we taste the water of a spring that they durst not drink, saying that there is a Demon in it which renders it fœtid ; having tasted it I found it was a fountain of Salt water ; and in fact we made Salt from it as natural as that from the sea ; of which we carried a sample to Quebec. This lake abounds in fish—in salmon trout and other fish.

17th. We enter their river, and at a quarter of a league meet at the left the Seneca river, which increases this ; it leads, they say, to Cayuga (Onioen) and to Seneca in two sunsets. At three leagues of a fine road from there, we leave the River Oneida

(Oneiout) which appears to us very deep. Finally a good league lower down we meet a rapid which gives the name to a village of fishermen. I found there some of our Christians and some Huron Christian women whom I had not yet seen.

* * * * *

19th. We proceed on our journey on the same river which is of a fine width and deep throughout, except some shoals where we must get into the water and draw the canoe lest the rocks break it.

20. We arrive at the Great Lake, Ontario, called the Lake of the Iroquois.

21. This lake is in a fury in consequence of the violence of the winds after a storm of rain.

22. Coasting quietly the shores of this Great Lake, my sailors kill with a shot from a gun, a large stag : my companion and I content ourselves looking at them broiling their stakes, it being Saturday, a day of abstinence for us.

23. We arrive at the place which is fixed on for our house and a French settlement. Beautiful prairies, good fishing ; a resort of all Nations. There I found new Christians who confessed themselves and furnished me with devotion in their sentiments of piety.

24 and 25. Being windbound, one of our canoes foundered on the 26, our sailors having embarked before the tempest had abated, and we thought we should have perished—finally we cast ourselves on an island where we dried ourselves at our leisure.

27. In the evening a little lull afforded us time to regain the main land.

28 and 29. The chase stops our sailors who are in the best possible humor ; for flesh is the paradise of the man of flesh.

30 and last of August. The rain and wind seriously inconvenience poor travellers, who having worked all day are badly provided for at night.

1st day of Sept. I never saw so many deer, but we had no inclination to hunt. My companion killed three as if against his will. What a pity ! for we left all the venison there, reserving the hides and some of the most delicate morsels.

2^d of the month. Travelling through vast prairies, we saw in divers quarters immense herds of wild bulls and cows; their horns resemble in some respect the antlers of the stag.

3^d and 4th. Our game does not leave us; it seems that venison and game follow us every where. Drovers of twenty cows plunge into the water as if to meet us. Some are killed, for sake of amusement, by blows of an axe.

5. In one day we travel over the road which took us two long days ascending the rapids and breakers.

6. Our Sault St. Louis frightens my folks. They land me four leagues above the settlement of Montreal, and God gave me sufficient strength to arrive before noon, and to celebrate mass, of which I was deprived during my whole voyage.

7. I proceed and descend to Three Rivers where my sailors desire to go. We arrived at Quebec on the eleventh day of the month of September of this year, 1654.

JOURNAL OF WHAT OCCURRED BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND SAVAGES.

[Relation, &c. 1657 and 1658.]

The word *Onnota*, which signifies, in the Iroquois tongue, a Mountain, has given the name to the village called Onnontaé, or as others call it, Onnontagué, because it is on a mountain; and the people who inhabit it consequently style themselves Onnontae-ronnons, or Onnontagué-ronnons. These people have for a long time and earnestly demanded that some priests of our Society be sent to their country. Finally, Father Joseph Chaumont and Father Claude Dablon were granted to them, in the year 1655. They embarked on the 19th Sept., and arrived at Onnontagué the 5th November of the same year 1655.

These two good fathers finding themselves listened to 1656. with approval and kindness, Father Dablon left Onnontagué on the second day of March of the following year 1656, to look for help at Quebec, where he arrived in the beginning of April, and departed thence on the 17th May, in company with three Fathers and two brothers of the Society, and a good number of Frenchmen, who all proceeded towards this new country, where they arrived on the 11th day of July of the same year, 1656.

In the year 1657, the harvest appearing plentiful in all 1657. the villages of the upper Iroquois, the common people listening to the words of the gospel with simplicity and the Chiefs with a well disguised dissimulation, Father Paul Rague-neau, Father François Du Peron, some Frenchmen and several Hurons, departed from Montreal the 26th July, to aid their brethren and compatriots.

On the 3^d day of the month of August of the same year 1657, the perfidy of the Iroquois began to develop itself by the massacre which they made of the poor Hurons whom they brought into their country, after thousands of protestations of kindness and thousands of oaths, in their style, that they should treat them as brothers. And had not a number of Iroquois remained among the French, near Quebec, to endeavor to bring with them the rest of the Hurons, who distrusting these traitors, would not embark with the others, the Fathers and the Frenchmen who ascended with them would have then been destroyed ; and all those who remained on the banks of Lake Ganantaa, near to Onnontagué, would shortly after have shared the same fate. But the fear that the French would wreak vengeance on their countrymen, staid their design, of which our fathers had had secret intelligence immediately on their arrival in the country. Even a captain who was acquainted with the secret of the Chiefs, having taken some liking to the preachings of the Gospel, and finding himself very sick, demanded Baptism ; having received it with sufficient instruction, he discovered the evil designs of his countrymen to those who attended him, and went a short time afterwards to Heaven.

* * * * *

The 9th of the month of September. Our fathers at Onnontagué

gué sent two canoes to Quebec with intelligence of the massacre of the poor Huron Christians, treacherously put to death by these barbarians, as we remarked above, 3 August of the year 1657.

* * * * *

The 7th of the month of November. Two Mohawks departed from Quebec, and took a third at Three Rivers. . . . A number of letters from divers quarters were given to them for Father Le Moine, part of which were to be sent to our Fathers and our French of Onnontagué thro' the medium of the Mohawks, who often go to that country.

* * * * *

It is true that the Mohawks faithfully delivered the letters to Ondessonk, because they feared evil for their people detained by the French. But for the letters addressed to our French at Onnontagué, the Mohawk who was the bearer thereof, threw them in the river, or gave them, probably, to the chiefs of the country. But these good fellows, who wished to rid themselves of the preachers of the gospel and of those who assisted them, threw them into the fire.

The Onnontagué sent by Monsieur de Maisonneuve did still worse: for he told the chiefs of the nation, that the French were leagued principally with the Algonquins to make war on them, and that they had killed his comrade. It was an Algonquin killed him on his way to war as we have remarked on the 3^d November. Nothing more was necessary to excite these furious men, who had already concluded on the death of some and the captivity of others. They were desirous, however, to act in concert with the Mohawks, who could, no more than the others, reconcile themselves to the detention of their people, believing it very unjust.

Our poor French were, meanwhile, much astonished at receiving no certain news either from Quebec, Three Rivers, or Montreal. These barbarians had entirely cut off all communication, so that Mons^r. de Dailleboust's orders were not delivered to Mons^r. Du Puis, who commanded the soldiers, nor a letter to any of the French whomsoever.

OF THE RETURN OF OUR FATHERS AND OF OUR FRENCHMEN FROM THE COUNTRY OF THE ONNONTAGUES.

[From the same.]

Though it be true that the Iroquois are subtle, adroit and great cheats, I nevertheless cannot persuade myself that they possess so much intelligence, so much tact, and that they are such great politicians as to have had recourse to the ruses and intrigues imputed to them to destroy the French, the Hurons, the Algonquins, and their allies.

They urged for many years with incredible persistence ; with evidences of especial affection and even with threats of rupture and war, if their friendship were despised and their demand rejected ; they insisted, I say, and solicited that a goodly number of French should accompany them into their country, the one to instruct, the others to protect them against their enemies, as a token of peace and alliance with them.

The Mohawks desired to thwart this scheme ; they fought the one against the other even unto polluting the earth with blood and murder. Some believed that all that was mere feint, the better to mask their game ; but it would seem to me not a very pleasant game when the stakes are life and blood. I strongly doubt that Iroquoy policy should extend so far as that, and that Barbarians who repose but little confidence in each other, should so long conceal their intrigues. I believe rather that the Onnontagué Iroquois demanded some Frenchmen in sincerity, but with views very different. The Chiefs finding themselves engaged in heavy wars against a number of nations whom they had provoked, asked for Hurons as reinforcements to their warriors ; they wished for the French to obtain firearms from them, and to repair those which might be broken. Further, as the Mohawks treated them sometimes very ill when passing through their villages to trade with the Dutch, they were anxious to rise out of this dependence in

opening a trade with the French. This is not all, the fate of arms being fickle, they demanded that our Frenchmen should erect a vast fort in their country to serve as a retreat for them, or at least for their wives and children in case their enemies pressed too close on them. Here are the views of the Iroquois politicians. The common people did not penetrate so far ahead ; curiosity to see strangers come from such a distance, the hope of deriving some little profit, created a desire to see them ; but the Christian Hurons and captives among the people, and those who approved their lives and conversations which they sometimes held regarding our belief, breathed nothing in the world so much as the coming of Preachers of the Gospel who had brought them forth unto Jesus Christ.

But so soon as the Captains and Chiefs became masters of their enemies, having crushed all the Nations who had attacked them ; so soon as they believed that nothing could resist their arms, the recollection of the wrongs they pretended to have formerly experienced from the Hurons ; the glory of triumphing over Europeans as well as Americans, caused them to take the resolution to revenge themselves on the one and destroy the other ; so that at the very moment they saw the dreaded Cat Nation subjugated by their arms and by the power of the Senecas, their allies, they would have massacred all the French at Onnontagué, were it not that they pretended to make use of them as a decoy to attract some Hurons and to massacre them as they had already done. And, if the influence of some of their tribe, then resident at Quebec, had not staid them, the path to Onnontagué had become the tomb to Frenchmen as well as to Hurons, as will be seen hereafter. From that time forth our people, having discovered their conspiracy, and perceived that their death was concluded on, bethought them on their retreat, which shall be described in the following letter.

FATHER PAUL RAGUENEAU

TO THE REV. FATHER JACQUES RENAULT, PROVINCIAL OF THE SOCIETY
OF JESUS IN THE PROVINCE OF FRANCE.

Pax Christi.

My R. Father,

The present is to inform Y. R. of our return from the Iroquois mission, loaded with some spoils rescued from Hell. We bear in our hands more than five hundred children and a number of adults, the most part of whom died after Baptism. We have re-established Faith and piety in the hearts of a poor captive church, the first foundations of which we had laid in the Huron Country. We have proclaimed the gospel unto all the Iroquois Nations so that they are henceforth without excuse, and God will be fully justified against them at the great day of judgment.

The Devil enraged at seeing us reap so fine a harvest and enjoy so amply the fruits of our enterprise, made use of the inconstancy of the Iroquois to drive us from the centre of his estates; for these Barbarians, without other motive than to follow their volatile humor, renewed the war against the French, the first blows of which were discharged on our worthy Christian Hurons, who went up with us to Onnontagué at the close of the last summer, and who were cruelly massacred in our arms and in our bosom by the most signal treason imaginable. They then made prisoners of their poor wives and even burned some of them with their children of three and four years, at a slow fire.

This bloody execution was followed by the murder of three Frenchmen at Montreal by the Oneidas, who scalped them and carried these as if in triumph into their villages in token of declared war. This act of hostility having obliged M. Dailleboust, then commanding in this country, to cause a dozen of Iroquois, in part Onnontagués and mostly Mohawks, to be arrested and put in irons at Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, where they happened to be at the time, both Iroquois Nations became irri-

tated at this detention of their people, pretending that it was unjust; and to cruelly avenge themselves convoked a secret Council where they formed the scheme of an implacable war against the French. Yet, they judged it fitting to dissimulate for some time until through the return of Father Simon Le Moine, then with the Mohawks, they should have obtained the delivery of their folks who were in irons. In that Council they even looked on our persons as precious hostages, either for the exchange of some of their tribe who were in prison, or obtainment of whatever pleased them when within view of our French settlements they should make us feel the effects of their cruelty; doubting not that these horrible spectacles and the lamentations of forty and fifty innocent Frenchmen would touch with compassion and distress the Governor and inhabitants of what place so ever.

We were only privately acquainted with these disastrous designs of the Iroquois, but we openly saw their spirits prepared for war; and in the month of February divers bands took the field for that purpose, 200 Mohawks on the one side, 40 Oneidas on the other; some Onnontagué warriors had already gone forward whilst the main body of the army was assembling.

We could not expect, speaking humanly, to extricate from these dangers, by which we were surrounded on all sides, some fifty Frenchmen who had entrusted to us their lives and for whom we should feel ourselves responsible before God and men. What distressed us the most was, not so much the flames into which a part of our Frenchmen would be cast, as the unfortunate captivity to which the most of them were destined by the Iroquois, in which the salvation of their souls was more to be dreaded than the loss of their bodies. This is what the greater number most especially apprehended, who already seeing themselves prisoners, coveted rather the stroke of the hatchet or even the flames, than this captivity. They were determined in order to avoid this last misfortune, even to risk all and to fly each, his way in the woods, to perish there of hunger and wretchedness or to attempt to reach some of the French settlements.

In these circumstances so precipitous, our Fathers and I and a gentleman named Monsieur du Puy, who commanded all our

Frenchmen and a garrison of soldiers, nine of whom had already of themselves resolved to abandon us, concluded that it would be better to withdraw in a body, either to encourage one another to die or to sell life more dearly. For that reason it became necessary to depart without breathing a syllable about it; for the least suspicion that the Iroquois would have had of our retreat, would hurry down on us the disaster we would avoid. But how hope to be able to depart without being discovered, being in the heart of the country, and always beset by a number of these Barbarians who left not our house so as to watch our countenances in this conjuncture? It is true they never imagined that we should have had the courage to undertake this exploit, knowing well that we had neither canoes, nor sailors, and that we were unacquainted with the paths topped by precipices where a dozen Iroquois could easily defeat us: Besides, the season was insupportable on account of the cold of the frozen water through which, under all circumstances, the canoes were to be dragged, throwing ourselves into the river and remaining there entire hours, sometimes up to the neck, and we never had undertaken such expeditions without having savages for guides.

Notwithstanding these obstacles which appeared insurmountable to them as well as to us, God, who holds in His hands all the moments of our lives, so happily inspired us with all that was necessary to be done, that having departed on the 20th day of March from our house of *Ste. Marie*, near Onnontagué, at eleven o'clock at night, His divine providence guiding us, as if by a continued miracle, in the midst of all imaginable dangers, we arrived at Quebec on the 23^d of the month of April, having passed Montreal and Three Rivers before any canoe could be launched, the river not having been open for navigation until the very day that we made our appearance.

From the same to the same.

Your Rev. will be glad to learn the particulars of our departure from *Ste. Marie* of the Iroquois. * * * * *
The resolution being taken to quit that country where God took through us, the small number of his disciples, the difficulties ap-

peared insurmountable in their execution for which every thing failed us.

To supply the want of canoes, we had built, in secret, two Batteaux of a novel and excellent structure to pass the rapids; these batteaux drew but very little water and carried considerable freight, fourteen or fifteen men each, amounting to fifteen to sixteen hundred weight. We had moreover four Algonquin and four Iroquois canoes, which were to compose our little fleet of fifty-three Frenchmen.

But the difficulty was to embark unperceived by the Iroquois who constantly beset us. The batteaux, canoes and all the equipage could not be conveyed without great noise, and yet without secrecy there was nothing to be expected save a general massacre of all of us the moment it would be discovered that we entertained the least thought of withdrawing.

On that account we invited all the Savages in our neighbourhood to a solemn feast at which we employed all our industry, and spared neither the noise of drums nor instruments of music, to deceive them by harmless device. He who presided at this ceremony played his part with so much address and success, that all were desirous to contribute to the publick joy: Every one vied in uttering the most piercing cries, now of war, anon of rejoicing. The Savages, through complaisance, sung and danced after the French fashion and the French in the Indian style. To encourage them the more in this fine play, presents were distributed among those who acted best their parts and who made the greatest noise to drown that caused by about forty of our people outside who were engaged in removing all our equipage. The embarkation being completed, the feast was concluded at a fixed time; the guests retired, and sleep having soon overwhelmed them, we withdrew from our house by a back door and embarked with very little noise, without bidding adieu to the Savages, who were acting cunning parts and were thinking to amuse us to the hour of our massacre with fair appearances and evidences of good will.

Our little Lake on which we silently sailed in the darkness of the night, froze according as we advanced and caused us to fear

being stopt by the ice after having evaded the fires of the Iroquois. God, however, delivered us, and after having advanced all night and all the following day through frightful precipices and waterfalls, we arrived finally in the evening at the great Lake Ontario, twenty leagues from the place of our departure. This first day was the most dangerous, for had the Iroquois observed our departure they would have intercepted us, and had they been ten or twelve it would have been easy for them to have thrown us into disorder, the river being very narrow, and terminating after travelling ten leagues in a frightful precipice where we were obliged to land and carry our baggage and canoes during four hours, through unknown roads covered with a thick forest which could have served the enemy for a Fort, whence at each step he could have struck and fired on us without being perceived. God's protection visibly accompanied us during the remainder of the road, in which we walked through perils which made us shudder after we escaped them, having at night no other bed except the snow after having passed entire days in the water and amid the ice.

Ten days after our departure we found Lake Ontario on which we floated, still frozen at its mouth. We were obliged to break the ice, axe in hand, to make an opening, to enter two days afterwards a rapid where our little fleet had well nigh foundered. For having entered a Great *Sault* without knowing it, we found ourselves in the midst of breakers which, meeting a quantity of big rocks, threw up mountains of water and cast us on as many precipices as we gave strokes of paddles. Our batteaux which drew scarcely half a foot, were soon filled with water and all our people in such confusion, that their cries mingled with the roar of the torrent presented to us the spectacle of a dreadful wreck. It became imperative, however, to extricate ourselves, the violence of the current dragging us despite ourselves into the large rapids and through passes in which we had never been. Terror redoubled at the sight of one of our canoes being engulfed in a breaker which barred the entire rapid and which, notwithstanding, was the course that all the others must keep. Three Frenchmen were drowned there, a fourth fortu-

nately escaped, having held on to the canoe and being saved at the foot of the *Sault* when at the point of letting go his hold, his strength being exhausted. * * * * * The 3d of April we landed at Montreal, in the beginning of the night.

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You noticed above how our Fathers and our Frenchmen withdrew from their habitation built on the banks of Lake Ganantaa, near Onnontagué. That happened at night, and without noise and with so much address, that the Iroquois, who cabined at the doors of our house, never perceived the removal of the canoes and batteaux and baggage which were launched, nor the embarkation of fifty-three persons. Sleep in which they were deeply enveloped, after considerable singing and dancing, deprived them of all consciousness ; but at length night having given place to day, darkness to light, sleep to awaking, these Barbarians left their cabins, and roving round our well locked house, were astonished at the profound silence of the Frenchmen. They saw no one going out to work ; they heard no voice. They thought at first that they were all at prayer, or in council, but the day advancing and these prayers not getting to an end, they knocked at the door. The dogs, which our Frenchmen designedly left behind, answered by barking. The cock's crow which they heard in the morning and the noise of the dogs, made them think that the masters of these animals were not far off ; they recovered the patience which they had lost. But at length the sun began to decline and no person answering neither to the voice of men nor to the cries of animals, they scaled the house to see the condition of our people in this terrible silence. Astonishment now gave place to fright and trouble. They open the door ; the chiefs enter every where ; ascend the garret ; descend to the cellar ; not a Frenchman makes his appearance dead or alive. They regard one another—terror seizes them ; they imagine they have to do with Devils. They saw no batteau, and even if they saw it they could not imagine that our Frenchmen would be so rash as to precipitate themselves into rapids and breakers, among rocks and horrible dangers in which themselves though very expert in passing through *Saults* and Cascades, often lose their

lives. They persuade themselves either that they walked on the waves, or fled through the air ; or as seemed most probable, that they concealed themselves in the woods. They seek for them ; nothing appears. They are quasi convinced that they rendered themselves invisible ; and as they suddenly departed, so will they pounce as suddenly on their village.

III.

PAPERS

RELATING TO

De Courcelles' and De Cracy's Expeditions

AGAINST

THE MOHAWK INDIANS.

Anno 1665—6.

OF THE FIRST FORTS ERECTED ON THE IROQUOIS RIVER.

[Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France es années 1664 & 1665.]

At the same time that the Outaouaks embarked to return to their country, the wind becoming more favorable, the soldiers who had been obliged to stop at Three Rivers likewise embarked; and after having navigated Lake St. Peter arrived at the mouth of the River Richelieu, which leads to the Iroquois of the Mohawk.

The plan entertained at this first campaign was to erect on the route some forts, which were considered absolutely necessary as well to secure the passage and liberty of trade as to serve for stores for the troops and retreats for sick and wounded soldiers. For this purpose three advantageous posts were selected. The first at the mouth of the Iroquois River; the second seventeen leagues higher up, at the foot of a current of water called the *Sault de Richelieu*; the third about three leagues above this current.

The first fort, named Richelieu, was built by Mons. de Chamblay, who commanded five companies which Monsieur de Tracy sent there. The second fort, named Saint Louis, because it was commenced the week of the celebration of the festival of that great saint, protector of our Kings and of France, was built by M. de Sorel, who commanded five other companies of the Regiment of the Carignan Salières. . . . The [third] fort was fortunately finished in the month of October on St. Theresa's day, whence it derived its name. From this third fort of St. Therese we can easily reach Lake Champlain without meeting any rapids to stop the batteaux.

This Lake, after a length of sixty leagues, finally terminates in

the country of the Mohawk Iroquois. It is still intended to build there, early next spring, a fourth fort, which will command those countries, and from which continual attacks can be made on the enemy, if they do not listen to reason.

We shall give at the end of the next chapter, the plan of these three forts, with the map of the Iroquois country¹ which has not been as yet seen, after having given some particulars of those people, who thwart us so long a time, because they have never been efficiently attacked.

OF THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY AND THE ROUTES LEADING THITHER.

It must be premised that the Iroquois are composed of five Nations, of which the nearest to the Dutch, is that of the Mohawk consisting of two or three villages containing about three to four hundred men capable of bearing arms. These have always been at war with us, though they sometimes pretended to sue for peace.

Proceeding towards the West, at a distance of forty-five leagues, is found the second Nation, called Oneida, which has no more, at most, than one hundred and forty warriors, and has never wished to listen to any negotiations for peace ; on the contrary it has always embarrassed affairs when they appeared about to be arranged.

Fifteen leagues towards sunset is Onnontagué, which has still three hundred men. We have been formerly received there as friends and treated as enemies, which obliged us to abandon that post, where we remained two years, as if in the centre of all the Iroquois Nations, whence we proclaimed the gospel to all those poor people, assisted by a garrison of Frenchmen sent by Monsieur de Lauzon, then Governor of New France, to take possession of those countries in his Majesty's name.

At twenty or thirty leagues from there still towards the West

¹ For the Map above referred to, see the Vol. of Relations in the State Library.

is the village of Cayuga, of three hundred warriors, where in the year 1657, we had a mission which formed a little church filled with piety in the midst of these Barbarians.

Towards the termination of the Great Lake, called Ontario, is located the most numerous of the Five Iroquois Nations, named the Senecas, which contains full twelve hundred men in two or three villages of which it is composed.

These last two nations have never openly made war on us, and have always remained neuter.

All that extent of country is partly south, partly west of the French settlements, at a distance of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty leagues. It is for the most part fertile, covered with fine timber ; among the rest entire forests of chestnut and hickory (*noyer*,) intersected by numerous lakes and rivers abounding in fish. The air is temperate ; the seasons regular as in France, capable of bearing all the fruits of Touraine and Provence. The snows are not deep nor of long duration. The three winters which we passed there among the Onnontagués, were mild, compared with the winters at Quebec where the ground is covered five months with snow, three, four and five feet deep. As we inhabit the Northern part of New France and the Iroquois the South, it is not surprising that their lands are more agreeable and more capable of cultivation and of bearing better fruit.

There are two principal rivers leading to the Iroquois ; one to those which are near New Netherland and this is the Richelieu river of which we shall speak hereafter ; the second conducts to the other Nations more distant from us, always ascending our great river St. Lawrence which divides, above Montreal, as if into two branches, whereof one goes to the antient country of the Hurons, the other to that of the Iroquois.

This is one of the most important rivers that can be seen, whether we regard its beauty or its convenience ; for we meet there almost throughout, a vast number of beautiful Islands, some large, others small, but all covered with fine timber and full of deer, bears, wild cows which supply abundance of provisions necessary for the travellers who find it every where, and some

times entire herds of fallow deer. The banks of the main land are ordinarily shaded by huge oaks and other lofty timber covering a good soil.

Before arriving at the Great Lake Ontario, two others are traversed, one of which adjoins the Island of Montreal, the other is amidway. It is ten leagues long by six wide. It is terminated by a great many little islands very pleasing to the sight, and we have named it Lake St. Francis.

But what renders this river inconvenient is the water falls and rapids which extend for the space of forty leagues, to wit from Montreal to the entrance of Lake Ontario, there being only the two lakes just mentioned of easy navigation. To surmount these torrents, we must often debark from the canoe and walk in the river whose waters are sufficiently low in these quarters, chiefly towards the banks. We take the canoe in hand dragging it after us. Ordinarily two men suffice, one forward at the bow, the other behind at the stern; and as the canoe is very light, being made merely of the bark of trees, and as it is not loaded, it glides more smoothly over the water, not meeting great resistance. Some times the canoe is to be landed and carried some distance, one man in front, the other in the rear; the first carrying one end of the canoe on the right shoulder, the second carrying the other end on the left. It becomes necessary to do this either on meeting cascades and entire rivers which fall some times perpendicularly from a prodigious height or when the current is too rapid; or when the water thereabout being too deep, we cannot walk, dragging the canoe along by the hand; or when the country is to be crossed from one river to the other.

But when the mouth of the Great Lake is reached, the navigation is easy, when the waters are tranquil, becoming insensibly wider at first; then about two-thirds, next one half and finally out of sight (of land); especially after one has passed an infinity of little islands which are at the entrance of the Lake, in such great number and in such a variety that the most experienced Iroquois Pilots sometimes lose themselves there, and experience considerable difficulty in distinguishing the course to be steered, in the confusion and as it were in the labyrinth formed by the

islands, which otherwise have nothing agreeable beyond their multitude. For these are only huge rocks rising out the water, covered merely by moss, or a few spruce or other stunted wood whose roots spring from the clefts of the rocks which can supply no other aliment or moisture to these barren trees than what the rains furnish them.

After leaving this melancholy abode, the Lake is discovered appearing like unto a sea without islands or bounds, where barks and ships can sail in all safety ; so that the communication would be easy between all the French colonies that could be established on the borders of this Great Lake which is more than a hundred leagues long by thirty to forty wide.

It is from this point that all the Iroquois Nations can be reached, by various directions, except the Mohawks, the route to whom is by the River Richelieu, of which we can safely say two words since they regard it, that our troops have already constructed the three forts of which we have spoken.

It is called the Richelieu River because of the fort of the same name which was erected there at its mouth at the commencement of the wars ; and which has been rebuilt anew to secure the entrance of that river. It likewise bears the name of the River of the Iroquois, because it is the route which leads thither, and it is by it these Barbarians used most ordinarily come to attack us. The bed of this river is one hundred to one hundred and fifty paces wide almost throughout, though at its mouth it is somewhat narrower : its borders are decorated with beautiful pines through which we can walk with ease ; as in fact fifty of our men have done a foot by land nearly twenty leagues of the way from the mouth of the river to the *Sault*, which is so called, though it is not properly a waterfall but only an impetuous rapid full of rocks, that arrest its course and render the navigation almost impossible for three quarters of a league. In time however its passage may be facilitated. The remainder of the river has from the beginning a very fine bottom ; as many as eight islands are to be met with before arriving at the basin, which is at the foot of the *Sault*. This basin is like a little lake, a league and a half in cir-

cumference and six to eight feet deep, where fish abounds almost at all seasons.

To the right of this basin in going up, is seen Fort Saint Louis, built quite recently here, which is very convenient for the design entertained against the Iroquois, since its position renders it almost impregnable and causes it to command the whole river.

After passing the rapids of the *Sault* which extend three leagues, the third fort is visible that terminates all these rapids: for the river afterwards is very beautiful and quite navigable to the Lake called Champlain, at the extremities of which we enter on the lands of the Mohawk Iroquois.

OF THE WAR AND THE TREATIES OF PEACE OF THE FRENCH WITH THE IROQUOIS.

[Relation, &c., ès années, 1665, 1666.]

The great varieties of Nations which are in these countries, the changeable and perfidious disposition of the Iroquois and the barbarism of all these tribes not permitting us to hope for any stable peace with them except inasmuch as it can be maintained by the terror of the king's arms, it is not to be wondered at that peace succeeds war so easily, and that wars terminate so quickly in peace.

The ambassadors of five different Nations were seen in one year at Quebec, who came there to solicit peace; yet these did not prevent us punishing by a good war those who answered badly by their conduct the promises of their deputies.

The first of these Ambassadors who came from the Upper Iroquois, were presented to M. de Tracy in the month of December of the year 1665, and the most influential among them was a famous Captain, called Garacontié, who always signalized his zeal for the French, and employed the credit which he has among all these tribes, in extricating our prisoners from their hands, as he

has liberated very recently *Sieur Le Moine*, an inhabitant of *Montreal*, who had been captured three months ago by these Barbarians.

M. de Tracy having notified him by the usual presents that he would give him a friendly audience, he pronounced a harangue full of good sense and an eloquence evincing no trace of the barbarous. It contained nothing but courtesies and offers of friendship and service on the part of all his tribe ; wishes for a new Jesuit Mission, and expressions of condolence on the death of the late *Father Le Moine*, the intelligence of which he had just received.

* * * * *

However as no advantage can be expected from these Nations except in so far as we appear able to injure them, preparations were made for a military expedition against those with whom no peace could be concluded. *Monsieur de Courcelles*, who commanded, used every possible diligence so that he was ready to start on the 9th January of the year 1666, accompanied by *M. du Gas*, whom he took for his Lieutenant ; by *M. de Salamper*, Gentleman Volunteer ; by *Father Pierre Raffeix*, Jesuit ; by 300 men of the Regiment of *Carignan Salières* and 200 Volunteers, *habitans* of the French Colonies. This march could not but be tedious, every one having snow shoes on his feet, to the use of which none were accustomed, and all, not excepting the officers nor even *M. de Courcelles* himself, being loaded, each with from 25 to 30 pounds of biscuit, clothing and other necessary supplies.

A more difficult or longer march than that of this little army, can scarcely be met with in any history, and it required a French courage and the perseverance of *M. de Courcelles*, to undertake it. In addition to the embarrassment caused by the snow shoes, which is a species of great inconvenience and that of the burthen which each one was obliged to carry, it was necessary to walk three hundred leagues on the snow ; cross lakes and rivers continually on the ice in danger of making as many falls as steps ; sleep only on the snow in the midst of the forest and endure a cold surpassing by many degrees in severity that of the most rigorous European winters.

Our troops, however, having gone the first day to Sillery to recommend the success of their enterprize to St. Michael the Archangel the patron of that place ; many had, as early as the third day, the nose, the ears, the knees and the fingers or other parts entirely frozen and the remainder of the body covered with cicatrixes, and some others wholly overcome and benumbed by the cold would have perished in the snow, had they not been carried, though with considerable difficulty, to the place where they were to pass the night.

Sieurs De la Fouille, Maximin and Lobiac, Captains in the the Carignan regiment, having joined this little army on the 24th January, each with 20 soldiers of their companies and some *habitans* of the place were treated by the cold, on the day following, worse than any had previously been, and many soldiers were obliged to be brought back, of whom some had the legs cut by the ice and others the hands or the arms or other parts of the body altogether frozen. These losses were repaired by Sieurs de Chambly, Petit and Rogemont, Captains of the same regiment, and by the Sieurs Mignardi, Lieutenant of the Colonel's company which was withdrawn from Forts St. Louis and St. Therese, where the troops rendezvoused on the 30th of the same month. So that the army being still 500 men strong finally arrived on the 14th of February, with the same difficulties and the same dangers, as before, in the enemy's country, at 20 leagues distance from their villages. The journey yet to be travelled, was very long in consequence of the prodigious depth of the snow and the delay of the Algonquin guides, in whose absence unknown routes were to be tried and continual mistakes experienced.

Finally information was received from prisoners who were taken in some detached cabins, and from the Commandant of a hamlet inhabited by the Dutch of New Netherland, that the greater part of the Mohawks and Oneidas having gone to a distance to make war against other tribes called the Wampum Makers, (*les faiseurs de porcelaine*) had left in their villages only the children and the helpless old men ; and it was considered useless to push farther forward an expedition which had all the

effect intended by the terror it spread among all the tribes, who were haughty and perfidious only because they considered themselves inaccessible to our troops. Before returning however we killed several savages who from time to time made their appearance along the skirts of the forest for the purpose of skirmishing with our people. *Sieur Aiguemorte* and some of our soldiers were also killed pursuing them.

The effects of the terror produced by his Majesty's arms on the hearts of these savages were apparent at Quebec in the month of May following, by the arrival of ambassadors from the Senecas, (*Sonnontouaeronons*) who demanded the King's protection for their nation and the continuation of peace, which they pretended they never violated by any hostile act. *M. de Tracy* had already refused 24 presents that they had tendered him, but perceiving that it affected them sensibly and that they considered it the greatest insult that could be offered, he finally accepted their wampum belts, repeating to them that it was neither their presents nor their goods that the King desired, but their true happiness and salvation ; that they would derive all sorts of advantages from their confidence in his goodness which should be extended to the other Nations also, that they might experience its most favorable effects, if they took the same care in imploring it by sending their ambassadors forthwith.

These were soon succeeded by those of other tribes ; among the rest by those from the Oneida and even by those from the Mohawk, so that the deputies from the Five Iroquois Nations were almost at the same time at Quebec as if to confirm by one common accord a durable peace with France.

In order the better to accomplish this it was deemed proper to send some Frenchmen with the Oneida Ambassadors, who were also responsible for the conduct of the Mohawks, and even gave hostages for them. The Dutch of New Netherland had likewise written in their behalf and went security for the faithful observance by all those Barbarians of the articles of peace entered into with them. These French delegates had orders to inform themselves of every thing carefully on the spot, and to learn if it were safe to confide again on the

Savages, so that His Majesty's arms should not be retarded by an illusive hope of peace.

But scarcely were the Ambassadors two or or three days journey from Quebec, when news came of the surprisal by the Mohawks of some Frenchmen belonging to Fort St. Anne who had gone to the chase, and of the murder of *Sieur de Traversy*, Captain in the Carignan Regiment and *Sieur de Chusy*, and that some volunteers had been taken prisoners. The French delegates were at once recalled, and the Oneida savages who remained as hostages whose heads could have been at once split by axes according to the laws of war in this country, were imprisoned. But without having recourse to these barbarous laws, means were adopted to derive greater advantage from this treachery; and M. de Sorel, Captain in the Carignan Regiment, immediately collected a party of three hundred men, whom he led by forced marches into the enemy's country, resolved to put all, every where, to the sword. But when only 20 leagues distant from their villages he encountered new Ambassadors bringing back the Frenchmen taken near Fort St. Anne, and who were coming to offer every satisfaction for the murder of those who were slain and new guarantees for peace, so that this Captain having returned with his troops, there was no more talk but of peace, which they pretended to conclude by a general council of all the Tribes who had at the time delegates at Quebec.

These treaties had not, however, all the success which was expected from them, and M. de Tracy concluded that, to ensure their success, it was necessary to render the Mohawks by force of arms more tractable, for they always opposed new obstacles to the publick tranquillity. He wished, despite his advanced age, to lead in person against these Barbarians, an army composed of 600 soldiers drafted from all the companies, of six hundred *habitans* of the country and one hundred Huron and Algonquin savages. Through the exertions of M. Talon, all the preparations for this war were completed by the 14th Sept^r, the day fixed on for departure, being that of the exaltation and triumph of the Cross, for whose glory this expedition was determined on. The general rendezvous was fixed for the 28th of Sept., at Fort

St. Anne recently constructed by Sieur La Mothe, Captain in the Carignan Regiment, on an Island in Lake Champlain. Some of the troops not being able to come up in sufficient time, M. de Tracy would not proceed before the 3^d of October, with the main body of the army. But M. de Courcelles impelled by his characteristic impatience for the fight, started some days ahead with 400 men, and Sieurs De Chambly and Berthier, commandants of the Forts St. Louis and Assumption were left to follow M. de Tracy, four days afterwards, with the rear guard. As it was necessary to march one hundred and twenty leagues into the interior to find the enemy's villages, and as several large lakes and many considerable rivers were to be crossed before arriving there, it was necessary to be provided with conveniences for land and water. Vessels requisite for this expedition had been prepared. Three hundred were ready; consisting partly of very light batteaux, and partly of bark canoes, each of which carried at most five or six hundred persons. On crossing a river or lake, each was obliged to take charge of his own canoe and to carry the batteaux by main strength. This caused less labor than two small pieces of artillery which were conveyed even to the farthest Iroquois villages, to force more easily all the fortifications.

Notwithstanding the care taken to accomplish this march with little noise, we could not prevent some Iroquois, despatched from 30 to 40 leagues to discover our troops, seeing from the mountain tops this little naval expedition, and running to warn the first village of it; so that the alarm spreading afterwards from village to village, our troops found them abandoned, and these barbarians were only seen on the mountains at a distance uttering great cries and firing some random shots at our soldiers.

Our army halting only for refreshment at all these villages, which were found void of men but full of grain and provisions, expected to meet with a vigorous resistance at the last which we prepared to attack in regular form, because the barbarians evinced by the great firing they made there, and the fortifications they had erected, every disposition for a desperate defence. But our people were again disappointed in their

hope ; for scarcely had the enemy seen the vanguard approach, when they immediately fled to the woods where night prevented our troops pursuing them. A triple palisade, surrounding their stronghold, twenty feet in height and flanked by four bastions, their prodigious quantities of provisions and the abundant supply of water they had provided in bark tanks to extinguish fire when necessary, afforded sufficient evidence that their first resolution had been quite different from that which the terror of our arms had caused them so suddenly to adopt. A few persons whom their advanced age had prevented withdrawing from the village two days previously with all the women and children, and the remains of two or three savages of another tribe whom they had half roasted at a slow fire with their accustomed fury, were all that were found. After having planted the Cross and celebrated Mass and sung the *Te Deum* on the spot, all that remained was to fire the palisades and cabins and to destroy all the stores of Indian corn, beans and other produce of the country found there. The other villages were again visited where as well as throughout the whole country, the same devastation was committed ; so that those who are acquainted with the mode of living of these barbarians doubt not but famine will cause as many to perish as would have been destroyed by the arms of our soldiery had they dared to await them, and that those who survive will be reduced by terror to peaceful conditions and to a demeanor more difficult to be obtained from them by mere sanguinary victories.

The return route of our troops was more disagreeable than that taken in going, because the rivers being swollen some seven or eight feet by the rains, were found much more difficult to cross, and a storm which arose on Lake Champlain wrecked two canoes with eight persons, amongst whom was to be particularly regretted *Sieur du Lugues*, Lieutenant of a company, who made frequent displays of his valour in France as well as in Canada.

The courage of our troops was ever wonderfully excited in the hardships of this expedition and in the face of danger, by the examples of *M. de Tracy*, *M. de Courcelles* and *M. de Sallière*,

Quarter Master (*Mestre de Camp*) of the regiment and of Chevalier de Chaumont who desired always on approaching the villages to be of the forlorn hope; and their generosity was animated by the zeal and pious sentiments with which Messrs. du Bois and Cosson, secular Priests, and Fathers Albanel and Raifaux, Jesuits, endeavored to inspire them.

Our excellent Prelate who had his hands ever raised to Heaven and had called every one to prayers, during the absence of our troops, caused thanks to be given to God and the *Te Deum* sung on their return. Every body here has conceived renewed hopes in consequence of the King's goodness towards the country and of the manner in which the West India Company, to whom his Majesty has confided it, is affected towards it. So that we doubt not but we shall very soon see most populous towns in the place of these extensive forests, and JESUS CHRIST worshipped in all these vast countries.

END.

A RELATION OF THE GOVERNOR OF CANNADA

HIS MARCH WITH 600 VOLUNTEIRS INTO Y^e TERRITORIES OF HIS
ROYALL HIGHNESSE THE DUKE OF YORKE IN AMERICA.

[Lond. Doc. II.]

Upon the 29th of Xber last, Monsier Coarsell the Governour of Canada, in Nova ffrancia begun his march with near 600 men, to seeke out their inveterate ennemyes called the Mahauke Indians in their owne country and forts, there to take reuenge upon them for the seuerall murthers and spoyles which the Barbarians had for many yeares exercised in Cannada upon the French, and the Indians of those parts even to the ruine of most, but to the insufferable discouragement of all those Inhabitants, who being taken alive were usually tortured and eaten, or burnt by the Mauhaukes; If not taken, yet liv^d in perpetuall alarums to see their dwelling houses burnt, their Cattell and Corne destroyed. All which powerfull arguments furnish't y^e french with heate enough to march

over the frozen lake of Canada, lying in the 60th degree of northerne latitude, and taking their tyme that the snow upon the ground was hard frozen (though in most places 4 foote deep) made use of Indian snow shoes w^{ch} hath the very form of a Rackett tyed to each foote, whereby y^e body and feet are kept from sinking into the snow, and because it was not possible for horses to pass, or subsist in the snow, or for the soldiers to carry their necessary provisions on their backes, and had lesse expectation to meete wth any reliefe in the vaste wilderness, the Govern^r caused slight sledges to be made in good number, laying provisions upon them, drew them over the snow with mastive doggs, all these difficultyes put together impeded his march, and by the mistake of his guides hapned to fall short of the castles of the Mauhaukes, and to take up his quarters or rather incamp upon the 9th of February within 2 myles of a small village called Schonectade, lying wth in the woods beyond fort Albany in y^e territoryes of his Royall highness, and 3 dayss march from the first castle of the Mahaukes.

The French suposed they were then come to their designed place, and the rather because y^t evening they did rancounter wth a party of the Mohaukes who made appearance of retreating from the French, whereupon a party of 60 of their best Fuzileers after them, but that small party drew the French into an ambuscade of neare 200 Mohaukes planted behind trees, (who taking their advantage as it fell into their hands,) at one volley slew eleauen French men whereof one was a Lieutent. wounded divers others, the french party made an honorable retreit to their body, w^{ch} was marching after them close at hand, w^{ch} gave the Mohaukes tyme and opportunity to march off wth the loss of only 3 slaine upon the plaice and 6 wounded, the report whereof was soone brought to Schonecktade by those Indians, with the heads of 4 of the french to the Commissary of the Village who immediately despatched the newes to Fort Albany, from whence the next day 3 of the principle inhabitants were sent to Monsier Coursell the Govern^r of Cannada to inquire of his intention to bring such a body of armed men into the dominions of his Matie of Great Brittain, wthout acquainting the Govern^r of these parts wth his de-

signes. The Governor reply^d that he come to seeke out and destroy his ennemyes the Mohaukes without intention of visiting their plantations, or else to molest any of his Maties subjects, and that [he] had not heard of the reducing those parts to his Maties obedience, but desired that hee and his soldiers might bee supplied with provisions for their money, and that his wounded men might be sucoured, and taken care for in Albany; To all which the Emissaryes freely consented and made a small but acceptable present of wine and provisions to him, further offering the best accommodations y^e poore village afforded, w^{ch} was civilly refus'd, in regard there was not accomodacōn for his souldyers, with whom he had marcht and campt under the blew canopye of the heavens full six weekes, but hee prudently foresaw a greater inconvenience if hee had brought his weary and halfe starv'd people within the smell of a chimney corner, whom hee now cold keepe from stragling or running away, not knowing whither to runn for feare of y^e Indians; The next day Monsieur Corsell sent his men to the village where they were carefully drest and sent to Albany, being seaven in number, the Dutch bores carryed to the camp such provisions as they had, and were too well payd for it; Especially peaz and bread, of w^{ch} a good quantity was bought; y^e Mohaukes were all gone to their Castles, with resolution to fight it out against the french, who being refresht and supplied wth the aforesaid provisions made a shew of marching towards the Mohaukes Castles, but with faces about and great sylence and dilligence return'd towards Cannada.

Upon the 12th of February, whether a Panick feare, some mutiny, or y^e probability of the thawing of the lake, caus'd this sudden (w^{ch} the Indians call a dishonorable retreat) I cannot learne, but surely so bould and hardy an attempt (circumstances considered) hath not hapned in any age. All w^{ch} vanisht like false fyer, and hath given new courage to their old ennemyes y^e Mauhoukes who by their spyes hearing of y^e retreat of y^e French pursu'd them back to the Lake, but the French making more speed to them from Canada, the Mohaukes did noe considerable prejudice to them, onely took 3 one of w^{ch} at his own request they slew, not being able to march, the other they kept prisoners,

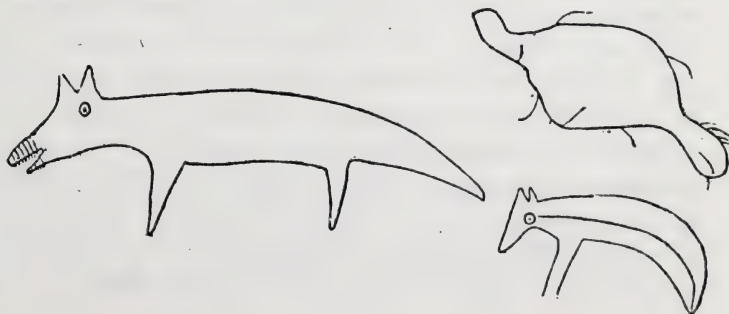
they found 5 others dead in the way with hunger and cold, but according to their manner brought the crownes of their heads away. those who observed the words and countenance of Monsieur Coursell, saw him disturbed in minde that the king was Master of these parts of the Country, where hee expected to have found the Dutch interest upermost, saying that the king of England did graspe at all America, but hee did not beleive to see the Dutch the masters ere long; he enquired what garrison or what fort was at Albany, 'twas told him a Captain and 60 English sol-dyers with 9 peece of ordinance in a small fort of foure Bastions, and that the Cap^t thereof Cap^t Baker had sent for 20 men from annother garrison of the Kings at the Sopes, who probably might be arrived at Albany the same hower, thus finding his men tyr'd, the Mohaukes resolute, and something doubtfull, without tryall of the good will of the English Garrison, because y^e reports were strong that the French King and States of Holland were united against His Matie of England, Monsieur Coursell found it reasonable to returne home nothing effected, the 2 prisoners taken by the Mohaukes in the retreate tell them y^t this summer another attempt will be made upon their country with a greater force and supplyes of men, the truth or success of which I shall not now discourse upon, having given y^e trew relation of what past from y^e 29th December to the 12th of February.

[From Paris Doc. I.]

On the seventh of the month of July of the year 1666, the Iroquois of the Oneida Nation, having learned from the Mohawks, their neighbours and allies and by the Dutch of Fort Orange that the troops of Louis the fourteenth by the grace of God Most Christian King of France and Navarre, had in the month of February of the said year carried his Majesty's arms, over the snow and ice near unto Fort Orange in New Netherland, under the command of Messire Daniel de Courcelle, Lieutenant General of his armies, pursuant to orders which they received from Messire Alexandre de Prouville knight, Lord de Tracy, member of

his Majesty's councils and Lieut. Genl. of his armies, both in the Islands and mainland of South and North America, as well by sea as by land, to fight and destroy the Mohawks, which probably they would have accomplished, had not the mistake of their guides caused them to take one road for the other, came down to Quebec to solicit peace as well in their own name as in that of the Mohawks by ten of their Ambassadors, by name Soenres, Tsoenserouanne, Gannoukouenioton, Asaregouenioton, Asaregouaune, Tsendiagou, Achinnhara, Togoukouaras, Oskaraquets, Akouehen, And after having communicated by the mouth of their Orator and Chief Soenres, the object of their Embassy by ten talks expressed by as many presents, and having handed to us the letters from the officers of New Netherland, have unanimously requested, acknowledging the force of his Majesty's arms and their weakness and the condition of the forts advanced towards them, and moreover aware that the three upper Iroquois Nations have always experienced great benefit from the protection which they formerly received from the said Lord the King, that his Majesty would be pleased to extend to them the same favour by granting them the same protection, and receiving them among the number of his true subjects, demanding that the Treaties formerly made as well by the said Nations as by theirs, have the same force and validity for that of the Mohawks, who have required of us to solicit this with great importunity, as they should have themselves done by means of their Ambassadors had they not been apprehensive of bad treatment at our hands, ratifying on their part all the said treaties in all their points and articles, which have been read to them in the Iroquois tongue by Joseph Marie Chaumont, priest, member of the Society of Jesus; adding, moreover, to all the said articles what the protest effecting in good faith what they offered by their said presents, especially to restore all the Frenchmen, Algonquins and Hurons whom they hold prisoners among them of what condition and quality they may be, and as long as any are detained there, even on the part of the Mohawks, to send families from among them to serve, like those of other nations as the most strict hostages for their persons and dispositions to the orders of those who shall in this

Country have authority from the said Lord the King whom they acknowledge from this time as their Sovereign; demanding reciprocally among all other things the restoration to them in good faith, of all those of their Nation who are prisoners at Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, that French families and some Black gowns, that is Jesuits be sent them, to preach the gospel to them and to make known to them the God of the French whom they promise to love and adore; also that trade and commerce be open to them with New France, by the Lake *du Saint Sacrement*, (L. George) with the assurance on their part that they will provide in their country, a sure retreat as well to the said families as to the trading merchants, not only by preparing cabins to lodge them in, but also by assisting to erect forts to shelter them from their common enemies the Andastaeronnons and others. And that the present Treaty, made on their part in ratification of the preceding, may be stable and known unto all, they have signed it with the separate and distinctive marks of their Tribes, after which what they solicited from the said Lord the King was granted to them in his name by Messire Alexandre de Prouville, Knight, Lord de Tracy member of the King's Councils, &c. (as above) in the presence and assisted by M. Daniel de Remy Siegneur de Courcelles, King's Councillor, &c., &c., and of M. Jean Talon also Councillor, &c. who have signed with the said Lord de Tracy; and as Witnesses, François le Mercier, Priest, Member and Superior of the Society of Jesus at Quebec and Joseph Marie Chaumont likewise Priest and Member of the said Society, Interpreters of the Iroquois and Huron languages. Done at Quebec the 12 July, 1666.



ACTE OF POSSESSION

BY SIEUR DU BOIS IN THE NAME OF THE KING (OF FRANCE) OF THE
FORTS TAKEN FROM THE IROQUOIS.

In the year 1666, the 17th day of Octob., the King's troops commanded by Messire Alexander de Prouville Knight, Lord de Tracy Lieut. General of His Maties Naval armies both in the Islands and Continent of South and North America as well by sea as by land, aided by Messire Daniel de Remy Knight, Seigneur de Courcelles, Governor and Lieut. General for the King in New France, being drawn up in battle array before the Fort of Andaraque, Jean Baptiste du Bois Esq^{rs} Sieur de Cocreaumont and de St. Morice, Commandant of the Artillery of the army, presented himself at the head of the army by order of Mons. Lord de Tracy and deputed by M. Jean Talon, King's Councillor in his State and Privy Councils, Intendant General of Justice, Police and Finance in New France, for the review and direction of the Supplies of the Troops, who declared and said that at the request of Mons^r Talon he took possession of said Fort and of all the lands in the neighbourhood as far and in as great a quantity as they may extend, and of the other four forts which have been conquered from the Iroquois in the name of the King, and in token thereof hath planted a Cross before the doors of said forts and near this hath erected a post and to these hath affixed the King's arms, of which and of all the above the said Sieur de Bois has required acte of the undersigned Royal Notary commanded in the said army for His Majesty's service. Done at the afore-said Fort of Andaraque the day and year above written, in presence of Messire Alexander de Chaumont, Knight Seigneur of said place, Aid de Camp of his Majesty's armies, and of Hector d'Andigny, Knight of Grande Fontaine, Captain of a Company of Infantry in the Carignan Regiment, of the Nobleman Antoine de Contrecour Capⁿ of a Company of Infantry in said Regiment, of Francois Massé, Sieur de Wally, Jean du Gal Esq^{rs} Sieur du

Fresne Major of Canada, Jean Louis Chevalier du Glas Lieut of a Company of said Regimt, Rene Louis Chartier Esqr, Sieur de Lobiniere Lieutenant of a Militia Company from Quebec, Dominique le Feure Esqr, Sieur de Quesquelin Lieutenant in said Regiment, Witnesses undersigned with the said Seigneur du Bois and the Notary. Signed, Chaumont, le Chevalier de Grand Fontain, de Contrecour, du Gal, Wally, Chev^{lier} du Glas, du Guesclin, Rene Louis Chartier, Lobiniere, du Bois and du Guet Royal Notary.

GOV. NICOLLS TO CHEV. TRACY, AT QUEBEC.

[Lond. Doc. II.]

Monsieur,

I was in some measure surprized in february last with the newes of so considerable a force of forreiners under the command of Monsieur de Courcelle so farre advanc't in these His Maties Dominions without my Knowledge and Consent, or the least notice given of y^r intentions to any of His Maties Colonies then in amity with the French Nation: although y^r proceedings heerin were not conformable to the practise in Europe, yet all my officers both Military and Civill soone resolu'd to succour and relieve your Campe with such meane provisions as the Country affords [and] from a small villiage could bee expected and as they have in all former times been very affectionate with Christian Charity to ransome or by any other meanes to convey divers French prisoners out of the hands of their barbarous Enemies so also their Intentions towards you is manifest in their letter of the 20th March last wherein their purpose was to give you a speedy notice that the Maquaes were at last wrought upon to treat of peace if you on your parts were so disposed, but it seems (by a sad accident intervening,) you are pleas'd to lay a greater burden upon them than they deserve after their sincere affections to your peace. To both y^r Letters directed to the Captain and Commis-

saries at Albany themselves will returne answer but hearing that you had Employed Le Sr. Couture with y^r Letters I tooke a souldaine Resolution to have discourse with him to w^{ch} purpose I came hither but find that he is return'd without the Knowledge of the Capt. or Commissarie. I could have wisht that hee had staid for mee, or that I could wait his coming for I now want the opportunity of enlarging myself to him and by him to y^rselfe with how much Integrity I shall constantly attend the European Interest amidst the heathen in America as becomes a good Christian, provided that the bounds and limits of these His Majesties of Englands dominions be not invaded or the Peace and Safety of his subjects interrupted, In all other points I shall be found to entertaine y^r Correspondence with Mutuall Civility and respect the rather because the Reputation of y^r honour hath spread itself in all these parts of the world, as well as it is known in Europe, whereof I can beare some Testimony, when I had the honour to attend my master his R. H. the Duke of York and Albany a few yeares in the french army, and now that I serve the same Master in his interest in this part of the World, I should count my selfe very fortunate in an opportunity at least to acknowledge some part of y^r great civilities to my Master and all his Servants in their low estate and condition of Exile, The Memory whereof obligeth me (a reasonable time and good occasion concurring) to give you certain prooffe with how much truth I am, Sir,

Yor Most aff^{te}. Servant

RICHARD NICOLLS.

20th Aug: St: Vet: }
In fort Albany 1666. }

A Monsieur, Monsieur Le Chevalier et Seigneur de Tracy Lt. Generall Du
Roy tres Chrestien dans toute L'Amerique. A Quebec.

M. TALON TO M. COLBERT, 13 Nov. 1666.

[Paris Doc. I.]

Monsieur de Tracy and Monsieur de Courcelles are returned from their Expedition, the Iroquois having concluded to retreat and abandon their settlements. The said M. de Tracy could do nothing else than burn their forts and lay waste every thing. These two gentlemen will inform you of whatever occurred throughout their march which occupied fifty-three days. What I learn from public opinion is that in what has been performed nothing has been left undone, and that the King's orders had been executed and his expectations entirely realized had those savages stood their ground. It would, in truth, have been desirable that a part had been defeated and some others taken prisoners.

The advanced age of M. de Tracy must greatly enhance the merit of the service he has rendered the King, by assuming in a broken down frame such as his, a fatigue of which no correct idea can be formed. I am assured that throughout the whole march of three hundred leagues, including the return, he suffered himself to be carried only during two days, and then he was forced to do so by the gout. M. de Courcelles, though stronger than he, could not help being carried in like manner, having been attacked by a contraction of the nerves. Both in truth have endured all the fatigue that human nature is capable of.

M. de Tracy incurred some expences on his march for the conveyance of the cannon and other extraordinary services rendered the Troops, which I wished to reimburse, but his modesty would not suffer it.

M. TRACY TO GOV. NICOLLS.

[London Doc. I.]

Sir

In answer to yo^r letter of 31. August, [N. S.] I shall tell you that Mons^r de Courcelle Govern^r Generall of this Countrey, signifying to mee that hee had a desire to make some inroad upon the Maquas, to put a stopp to their barbarous Insolencies ; I gave my consent to further the design, that hee might take with him so many officers and souldiers as hee thought fit, either of his Maties Companies, or those of y^e Countrey. Whereupon hee advanced within fiteene or twenty leagues of the villages of y^e Anniés. But fortunately for them his guides conducting him a wrong way, hee did not meete with them, till he came neare the village which you name in yo^r Letter, neither had he known there was any of them there, untill he had surprized all the Ind-
yans that were in two small Hutts at some distance from that place. This truth is sufficiently convincing, to justify Mons^r de Courcelle, that hee had no intention to infringe the Peace, that was then between us, for that hee thought himself in the Maques land. The Moderacón which hee used in the said hutts (although the persons under his command were driven to the uttermost extremity, for want of Provisions) hath sufficiently manifested the consideracóns wee have always had for our allies (for until then wee had no intelligence, that New Holland was under any other Dominion than that of the States of the United Belgick Provinces) and understanding that hee was upon the Lands belonging to the Dutch, hee tooke great care to hinder his companies from falling into the village, by which means alone the Maquaes that were there saved themselves.

Hee also had so much care and authority as to hinder the souldiers from Killing the Poultry, and taking away Provisions that were in the said hutts, to satisfy their hunger. Thus farr, I ought to vindicate the truth upon this subject.

The French nation is too much inclined to acknowledge courtesies, not to confess that the Dutch have had very much charity for the French, who have been Prisoners with the Maquaes, and that they have redeemed divers, who had been burnt wthout their succour; They ought also to be assured of our gratitude towards them, and to any others who shall exercise such Christian Deedes, as they have done.

I am also persuaded that they had a sincere intention for the conclusion of a firme peace between us and the Maques. They ought in like manner to believe, that wee have alwayes expressly forbid y^e Algonquins to make warr upon or kill them.

Since the Dutch Gent. did send you y^e Lr^s which I writt unto them, you have knowne the candour of my thoughts, and the confidence which I had in their friendship, by that of the 14th July 1666 as also by the Request I made to the Reverend Father Bechefer (who is a person of great meritt) accompanied with three considerable persons, to transport himself upon the place, to conclude a peace, thereby to ease them of the trouble of cōming to Quebec.

Its true the displeasure I received by the death of some Gentmen, who went a fowling upon confidence, of that article w^{ch} is in the same letter those Gent'men sent mee, the second time, dated the 26th March 1666, the which I had publisht in our Garri-son [we have acquainted the Maquaes, that they are to forbear all acts of Hostility, during the time that the Messenger shall be absent which they have promised to observe] did give mee a just griefe, and a great deale of discontent, It being evident that those Gent'men had not put themselves upon that hazard, without the assurance: w^{ch} would have served amongst Europeans as well as the most authentick Passeport that could be had, the which also wee had caus'd the Algonquins to observe.

Such an unexpected misfortune obliged mee to chang the designe I had of adventuring the person of the reverend Father Bechefer, and the rest that accompanied him, & I resolv'd to send only the Sieur Cousture (who had been a Prisoner among the Maques) with a letter to the Dutch Gent. of the 22^d July 1666. The said Cousture having no other employ than what was in his

Instruction which hath or might have been seene, since I gave him leave to shew it.

I had never the thought of accusing those Dutch Gent'men either directly or indirectly, nor any other person, of holding intelligence with the Maques in so foule an action as was committed by them ; But writt onely to oblige them, and those other Gent'men who serve under yo^r command at Albany, (for we were then in peace,) to counsell the Maques, as Neighbours, to deliver up into our power, the actors of that murder, w^{ch} was a satisfaction that with reason I might promise mysele on that occasion.

My L're of the 22^d July to those Gent'men at Albany, might have informed you what the S^r Cousture was ; ffor it had not beene prudent after the death of those Gent'men, to hazard a person of quality. And I am very sorry that you tooke the paines to leave the place of y^r usual residence, to make a voyage to Albany, to have discourse with an ordinary Messenger who had nothing of Trust committed to him.

The intention you signify to have of Embracing Allwayes the Interest of Europe, against the barbarous Indiyans of America, is very commendable and befitting a person of your Quality and a good Christian : That Passion which you likewise expresse, for the interest of his Ma^{ty} of Great Brittain, is to be esteemed, and there is no man of reason, who doth not approve y^r judgm^t therein, & that hath not the like for his Prince.

I returne you thankes in particular for those obliging termes you are pleas'd to use on my behalfe, as also for the assurances you give mee of a desire to hold a mutuall Correspondence of civility and respect with mee to y^e end before proposed : If I was particularly knowne to you I might feare you would alter your opinion of mee, for that Reputac^on doth very often give us advantages which wee do not deserve.

I had the honor to serve the King in Germany, in the most considerable commands of his Army, at the time when my son (that was hee and not mee) was knowne unto you, in those which served in fllanders, where he commanded His Maties Cavalry of Strangers : Hee had a very particular respect for the person, and for the great meritt of his Royal Highnesse, The Duke of York,

who seemed to bee well pleased with his respectful carriage towards him : You have no reasons to expect lesse services from mee, that you might have received from my son, upon all occasions where those of the King will permit mee to render them.

It cannot bee but you must have heard from divers of your Nation that have beene in the Islands of America, how I have done them courtesyes with passion, and with as much civility as may bee ; I have cause enough to complaine that the same hath not beene practised towards me ; ffor that a vessell which went out of Boston, tooke in the Gulfe of St. Laurence, towards the latter end of June, or the beginning of July 1665, (near upon five months before the declaracôn of the warre) a barque of betweene 25 and 30 tunnes, w^{ch} belonged to mee, being laden with a good quantity of strong Waters, and other refreshments which come from France : But as I know no other interest than that of the service of his Mat^y who bestowes many benefitts upon mee, I shall easily forgett that losse, 'till the conclusion of Peace, you may also believe that I am wth a great deale of esteeme,

Sr Your thrice affectionate
and humble Serv^t.

TRACY.

Quebec }
Apr. 30, 1667. }

IV.

REPORTS

ON THE

Province of New York.



About 1669; 1678.

GOV. NICOLLS' ANSWERS TO THE SEVERALL QUERIES

RELATING TO THE PLANTERS IN THE TERRITORIES OF HIS R. H.
THE DUKE OF YORKE IN AMERICA.

[Lond. Doc. II.]

1st. The Governour and Councell with the High Sheriffe and the Justices of the Peace in the Court of the Generall assizes haue the Supreame Power of making, altering, and abolishing any Laws in this Government. The Country Sessions are held by Justices upon the Bench, Particular Town Courts by a Constable and Eight Overseers, The City Court of N. Yorke by a Mayor and Aldermen. All causes tried by Juries.

2nd. The Land is naturally apt to produce Corne & Cattle so that the severall proportions or dividents of Land are alwaies allowed with respect to the numbers of the Planters, what they are able to manage, and in w^t time to accomplish their undertaking, the feed of Cattell is free in commonage to all Townships, The Lots of Meadow or Corne Ground are peculiar to each Planter.

3rd. The Tenure of lands is derived from his R. H.^s who gives and grants lands to Planters as their freehold forever, they paying the customary rates and duties with others towards the defraying of publique charges. The highes Rent or acknowledgment to his R. H.^s will bee one penny *pr* acre for Lands purchased by his R. H.^s, the least two shillings sixe pence for each hundred acres, whereof the Planters themselves are purchasers from the Indyans.

4. The Governour gives liberty to Planters to find out and buy lands from the Indyans where it pleaseth best the Planters, but the seating of Towns together is necessary in these parts of America, especially upon the Maine Land.

5. Liberty of Conscience is graunted and assured with the the same Provisoe exprest in the Queerie.

6. Liberty of ffishing and fowling is free to all by the Patent.

7. All Causes are tried by Juries, no Lawes contrary to the Lawes of England. Souldyers onely are tryable by a Court Marshall, and none others except in cases of suddain invasion, mutiny or rebellion, as his Maties Lieutenants in any of his Countries of England may or ought to exercise.

8th. As to this point there is no taxe, toledge, Impost or Cus-tome payable upon the Planters upon Corne or Cattle: the Country at present hath little other product, the Rate for publicke charges was agreed unto in a generall Assembly, and is now managed by the Governour his Councell and the Justices in the Court of Assizes to that onely behoofe.

9th. The obtaining all thes priviledges is long since recomêded to his R. H.^s as the next necessary encouragement to these his Territories, whereof a good answer is expected.

10th. Every man who desires to trade for flurrs at his request hath liberty so to doe.

ANSWERS OF GOV. ANDROS TO ENQUIRIES ABOUT NEW YORK; 1678.

[Lond. Doc. III.]

Answers to the Inquires of Plantacôns for New Yorke.

1. The Governo^r is to have a Councill not exceeding tenn, wth whose advice to act for the safety & good of the country, & in every towne, village or parish a Petty Court, & Courts of Sessions in the Severall precincts being three, on Long Island, & Townes of New Yorke, Albany & Esopus, & some smale or poore Islands & out places; and the Generall court of assizes composed of the Governo^r & Councill & all the Justices & magistrates att New York once a yeare, the Petty courts Judge of five pounds,

& then may appeale to Sessions, they to twenty pounds & then may appeale to assizes to y^e King, al sd courts as by Law.

2. The court of Admiralty hath been by speciall comission or by the Court of Mayor & Aldermen att New Yorke.

3. The cheife Legislative power there is in the Governo^r with advice of the Councill the executive power Judgem^{ts} given by y^e courts is in the sheriffs & and other civil officers.

4. The law booke in force was made by the Governo^r & Assembly att Hempsted in 1665 & since confirmed by his Royall Highnesse.

5. The Militia is about 2000 of w^{ch} about 140 horse in three troopes the foote formed into companies, most under 100 men each all indifferently armed with fire-arnes of all sizes, ordered & exercised according to Law, and are good fire men, one standing company of Souldiers with gunners & other officers for the fforts of New Yorke & Albany alwayes victualled in October & November for a yeare.

6. Forteresses are James fforte seated upon a point of New Yorke towne between Hudson's River & y^e Sound, its a square with stone walls, foure bastions almost regular, and in it 46 gunnes mounted & stores for service accordingly. Albany is a smale long stockadoed forte with foure bastions in it, 12 gunns, sufficient ag^t Indians, and lately a wooden redout & out worke at Pemaquid wth 7 gunns, s'd Garrisons victualled for a yeare, wth suff^t stores.

7. There are no privateers about o^r Coasts.

8. Our Neighbours westward are Mary land populous and strong but doe not live in townes, their produce tobacco, Northwest the Maques &c. Indians y^e most warr like in all the Northern Parts of America, their trade beavers & furs. Northward the ffrench of Canada trade as wee with our Indians; Eastward Connecticut in a good condicon & populous, their produce provisionn of wheate, beefe & porke, some pease, o^r South bounds the Sea.

9. Wee keepe good Correspondence with all o^r neighbours as to Civill, legall or judicciall proceedings, but differ with Connec-

ticutt for or bounds & mutuall assistance w^{ch} they nor Massachussetts will not admitt.

10. Our boundaries are South, the Sea, West Delaware; North to y^e Lakes or ffrench; East Connecticut river, but most usurped & yett possèd by s^d Connecticut some Islands Eastward & a tract beyond Kennebeck River called Pemaquid, &c. New Yorke is in 40^d 35^m; Albany abt 43^d; the Collony is in severall long narrow stripes of w^{ch} a greate parte of the settlem^t made by adventurers before any Regulacón by w^{ch} Incroachm^{ts} without pattents w^{ch} townes have lately taken but by reason of continuall warrs noe Survey made & [qu. of the] wilderness, noe certaine computacón can be made of the planted and implanted, these last 2 yeares about 20,000 acres taken up and pattented for particuler persons besides Delaware, most of the land taken up except upon Long Island is improved & unlesse the bounds of the Duke's pattent be asserted noe great quantities att hand undisposed.

11. Our principall places of Trade are New Yorke and South[']ton except Albany for the Indyans, our buildings most wood, some lately stone & brick, good country houses & strong of their severall kindes.

12. Wee haue about 24 townes, villiages or parishes in Six Precincts, Divisions, Rydeings, or Courts of Sessions.

13. Wee haue severall Rivers, Harbours & Roades, Hudson's River the chiefest & is abt. 4 fathom water att coming in butt six, tenn or more within & very good soundings & anchorage either in Hudson's River or in the Sound, the usuall roade before the town and moulde.

14. Our produce is land provisions of all sorts as of wheate exported yearly about 60000 bushells, pease, beefe, pork, & some Refuse fish, Tobacco, beavers, peltry or furs from the Indians, Deale & oake timber, planks, pipestaues, lumber, horses, & pitch & tarr lately begunn to be made, Comòdities imported are all sorts of English manufacture for Christians & blancketts, Duffells &c. for Indians about 50000^{lb} yearly, Pemaquid afords merchantable ffish & masts.

15. Wee haue noe Experience or skill of Salt Peter to be had in Quantities.

16. Our Merch^{ts} are not many but with inhabitants & planters about 2000, able to beare armes, old inhabitants of the place or of England, Except in & neere New Yorke of Dutch Extraction & some few of all nations, but few Serv^{ts}, much wanted & but very few slaves.

17. Noe persons whateuer are to come from any place but according to act off Parl^t w^{ch} the magistrates and officers of the severall townes or places are to take care of, accordingly the plantacôn is these late yeares increased, butt noe Genrall acc^t hath been taken soe is not knowne how much nor what persons. Some few Slaues are sometimes brought from Barbadoes, most for Provisions and sould att ab^t 30^{lb} or 35^{lb} Country pay.

18. Ministers have been soe scarce & Religions many that noe acc^t can be giuen of Children's births or christenings.

19. Scarcity of Ministers and Law admitting marriages by Justices, noe acc^t can be giuen of the number married.

20. Noe acc^t can be giuen of burials, formes of burials not being generally obserued & few ministers till very lately.

21. A merch^t worth 1000^{lb} or 500^{lb} is accompted a good substantiall merchant and a planter worthe halfe that in moveables accompted [rich?] with all the Estates may be valued att about £150,000.

23. There may lately haue traded to y^e Collony in a yeare from tenn to fifteen shippes or vessells of about togeather 100 tunns each, English new England and our owne built of w^{ch} 5 small shippes & a Ketch now belonging to New Yorke foure of them built there.

23. Obstruccôns to Improuem^t of planters, trade, Navigacôn and mutuall assistance are y^e distinction of Collonies for our owne produce, as if different nations and people, though next neighbours upon the same tract of land, & His Maties subjects, we obserueing acts of trade & navigacôn &c.

24. Aduantages, Incouragem^t & Improuem^t of Planters trade & Navigacôn would be more if next neighbours of o^r own Nation the King's subjects on the same tract of land might without distinction, supply each other with our owne produce, punctually obserueing all acts of parliam^t for Exportacôn & would dispose all persons the better for mutuall assistance.

25. Rates or duties upon Goods exported are 2^s for each hhd of Tobacco & 1^s 3^d on a beaver skin & other peltry proportionably, Provisions and all else paye nothing, Goods imported payes 2 per cent except Liquors particularly rated something more, & Indian trade going up the river payes 3 per cent, there are some few quitt-rents, as also Excise or license monys for retaileing stronge drinke & a way house or publique Scale : all applied to y^e Garrison and publique charge, to which it hath not hitherto sufficed by a greate deale.

26. There are Religions of all sorts, one church of England, Several Presbiterians & Independents, Quakers & Anabaptists of Severall sects, some Jews but presbiterians & Independ^{ts} most numerous & Substantiall.

27. The Duke maintaines a chapline w^{ch} is all the certaine allowance or Church of England, but peoples free gifts to y^e Ministry, and all places oblidged to build Churches & provide for a minister, in w^{ch} most very wanting, but presbiterians & Independ^{ts} desierous to have and maintaine them if to be had, There are ab^t 20 Churches or Meeting places of w^{ch} about halfe vacant their allowance like to be from 40^{lb} to 70^{lb} a yeare and a house and garden. Noe Beggars but all poore cared ffor. If good Ministers could be had to goe theither might doe well & gaine much upon those people.

Endorsed

“Answers of inquiries of New-York

Rec^d from Sr Edm. Andros on the 16th
of Ap. 1678.”

NOTE.—Chalmers gives in his Annals what purport to be copies of these Reports, but they will be found to be rather abstracts when compared with the official MSS. which are now published in full, it is believed for the first time.

V.

PAPERS

RELATING TO

M. de la Barre's Expedition

TO

HUNGRY BAY, JEFFERSON CO.

1684.

EXTRACT OF THE INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE KING
TO M. DE LA BARRE.

[Paris Doc. Vol. II.]

Versailles, 10th May, 1682.

He is equally informed that the Savages nearest adjoining to the French Settlements are the Algonquins and the Iroquois, that the latter had repeatedly troubled the peace and tranquillity of the Colonies of New France until His Majesty having waged a severe war against them, they were finally constrained to submit and to live in peace and quietness without making any incursions on the lands inhabited by the French. But as these restless and warlike tribes cannot be kept down except by terror, and as His Majesty has even been informed by the last despatches, that the Onnontagués and Senecas—Iroquois tribes—have killed a Recollet and committed many other violences and that it is to be feared that they will push their audacity even further; It is very important that the said Sieur de la Barre put himself in a condition to proceed as early as possible, with 5 or 600 of the militia most favorably situated for this expedition along the shores of Lake Frontenac at the mouth of Lake Conty, to exhibit himself to these Iroquois Settlements in a condition to restrain them within their duty and even to attack them should they do any thing against the French, wherein he must observe that he is not to break with them without a very pressing necessity and an entire certitude to promptly and advantageously finish a war that he will have undertaken against them.

He must not only apply himself to prevent the violences of the Iroquois against the French. He must also endeavour to keep the Savages at peace among themselves, and prevent the Iroquois

by all means making war on the Illinois and other tribes, neighbours to them, being very certain that if these Nations whose furs, the principal trade of Canada, are destroyed, should see themselves secure against the violence of the Iroquois by the protection they would receive from the French, they might be so much the more excited to wear their merchandizes and will thereby increase trade.

At the meeting held the tenth October 1682, composed of M. the Governor, M. the Intendant, M. the Bishop of Quebec, M. Dollier Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, the Rev. Fathers Beschefer Superior, D'Ablon and Fremin, Jesuits, M. the Major of the City, Mess^{rs}. de Varrenne Governor of Three Rivers, de Brussy, Dalibout, Duguet, Lemoine, Ladurantais, Bizard, Chailly, Vieuxpont, Duluth, de Sorel, Derepentigny, Berthier and Boucher.

It is proposed by M. the Governor, that from the records which M. the Count de Frontenac was pleased to deposit in his hands of what had passed at Montreal on the 12 Sept. last, between him and the Deputy of the Onontagué Iroquois, it is easy to infer that these people are inclined to follow the object of their enterprize, which is to destroy all the Nations in alliance with us, the one after the other, whilst they keep us in uncertainty and with folded arms; so that, after having deprived us of the entire fur trade which they wish alone to carry on with the English and Dutch established at Manate and Orange, they may attack us isolated, and ruin the Colony in obliging it to contract itself and abandon all the separate settlements, and thus arrest the cultivation of the soil which cannot bear grain nor be cultivated as meadow except in quarters where it is of good quality.

As he is not informed in the short time since his arrival from France, of the state of these tribes and of the Colony, he requests them to acquaint him with all they know of these things in order

that he may inform his Majesty thereof, and represent to him the necessities of this Colony, for the purpose as well of averting this war as for terminating and finishing it advantageously should it be necessary to wage it ; Whereupon the Meeting after being informed by the Rev^d Jesuit fathers of what had passed during five years among the Iroquois Nations, whence they had recently arrived, and by M. Dollier of what occurred for some years at Montreal, remained unanimously and all of one accord, that the English have omitted nothing for four years to induce the Iroquois, either by the great number of presents which they made them or by the cheapness with which they gave them provisions and especially guns, powder and lead, to declare war against us, and which the Iroquois have been two or three times ready to undertake ; But having reflected that, should they attack us before they had ruined in fact the allied nations, their neighbours, these would rally and, uniting together, would fall on them and destroy their villages whilst occupied against us, they judged it wiser to defer and amuse us whilst they were attacking those Nations, and having commenced, with that view, to attack the Illinois last year, they had so great an advantage over them that besides three or four hundred killed, they took nine hundred of them prisoners, so that marching this year with a corps of twelve hundred men, well armed and good warriors, there was no doubt but they would exterminate them altogether and attack, on their return, the Miamis and the Kiskakous and by their defeat render themselves masters of Missilimackina and the lakes Hérié and Huron, the Bay des Puans and thereby deprive us of all the trade drawn from that country by destroying, at the same time, all the Christian Missions established among those nations ; and therefore it became necessary to make a last effort to prevent them ruining those Nations as they had formerly the Algonquins, the Andastez, the Loups (Mohegans), the Abenakis and others, the remains of whom we have at the settlements of Sillery, Laurette, Lake Champlain and others scattered among us. That to accomplish that object, the state of the Colony was to be considered, and the means to be most usefully adopted against the enemy ; that as to the Colony we could bring together a thousand good

men, bearing arms and accustomed to manage canoes like the Iroquois, but when drawn from their settlements, it must be considered that the cultivation of the soil would be arrested during the whole period of their absence, and that it is necessary, before making them march, to have supplies of provisions necessary in places distant from the settlements, so as to support them in the enemy's country a time sufficiently long to effectually destroy that Nation, and to act no more by them as had been done seventeen years ago, making them partially afraid without weakening them. That we have advantages now which we had not then ; the French accustomed to the Woods, acquainted with all the roads through them, and the road to Fort Frontenac open to fall in forty hours on the Senecas, the strongest of the five Iroquois Nations, since they alone can furnish fifteen hundred warriors, well armed ; that there must be provisions at Fort Frontenac, three or four vessels to load them and embark five hundred men on Lake Ontario, whilst five hundred others would go in Canoes and post themselves on the Seneca shore ; but this expedition cannot succeed unless by His Majesty's aid with a small body of two or three hundred soldiers to serve as a garrison for Forts Frontenac and La Galette, to escort provisions and keep the head of the country guarded and furnished whilst the interior would be deprived of its good soldiers ; a hundred or a hundred and fifty hired men, to be distributed among the settlements to help those who will remain at home to cultivate the ground, in order that famine may not get into the land ; and funds necessary to collect supplies and build two or three barks, without which and that of Sieur de Lasalle, it is impossible to undertake any thing of utility : That it is a war which is not to be commenced to be left imperfect, because knowing each other better than seventeen years ago, if it were to be undertaken without finishing it the conservation of the Colony is not to be expected, the Iroquois not being apt to return. That the failure of all aid from France had begun to create contempt for us among the said Iroquois, who believed that we were abandoned by the great Onontio, our Master, and if they saw us assisted by him, they would, probably, change their minds and let our allies be in

peace and consent not to hunt on their grounds, or bring all their peltries to the French, which they trade at present with the English at Orange; and thus by a small aid from his Majesty we could prevent war and subject these fierce and hot spirits, which would be the greatest advantage that could be procured for the Country. That notwithstanding, it was important to arm the militia and in this year of abundant harvest to oblige them to furnish guns which they could all advantageously use when occasion required.

Done in the house of the Rev^d Jesuit Fathers at Quebec, the day and year above stated.

Compared with the original remaining in my hands.

LE FE BURE DE LABARRE.

FATHER LAMBERVILLE TO M. DE LA BARRE.

[Paris Doc. II.]

February 10, 1684.

* * * * The Governor of New York is to come, they say, next summer to the Mohawk and speak there to the Iroquois. We'll see what he'll say. He has sent a shabby ship's flag to the Mohawk to be planted there. This is the coat of arms of England. This flag is still in the public chest of the Mohawks. I know not when it will see day.

M. DE LA BARRE TO GOV. DONGAN.

Montreal 15th June 1684.

Sir—The unexpected attack which the Iroquois, Senecas and Cayugas have made on one of my forts whither I had sent a gentleman of my household to withdraw Sieur de la Salle therefrom, whom I sent at their request to France, and the wholesale plunder of seven French canoes laden with merchandize for the Trade, and the detention during ten days of 14 Frenchmen who were conducting them up, and that in a time when I was in a quiet

and peaceable negotiation with them, oblige me to attack them as people from whose promises we have nothing to expect but murder and treason; but I did not wish to do so without advising you of it, and telling you at the same time, that the Mohawks and Oneidas, neighbours of Albany, having done me no wrong, I intend to remain at peace with them and not attack them.

The letters which I have rec^d from France inform me as does that which you were pleased to honour me with, that our two Kings desire that we should live in Union and Fraternity together. I shall contribute with the greatest joy, and with a punctuality with which you will be satisfied. I think that on the present occasion you can well grant me the request I make to forbid those at Albany selling any Arms, Powder or Lead to the Iroquois who attacked us and to the other tribes who may trade with them.

This proceeding alone may intimidate them, and when they see the Christians united on this subject they will shew them more respect than they have done hitherto.

If you have any cause of complaint against their conduct, you can advance it now, & I shall consider your interests as those of my master, as soon as I shall hear from you I will answer regarding what you may require from my ministry in a manner entirely satisfactory to you, esteeming nothing in the world more highly than the opportunity to testify to you how truly I am

Sir

Your very humble Serv^t

(Signed) LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

GOV. DONGAN TO M. DE LA BARRE.

[N. Y. Council Min. V.]

New York June y^e 24th 1684.

Sr—Y^{rs} dated the 15th I received the 23^d of S. V. of this Instant; & am very sorry that I did not know sooner of the misunderstanding between you and the Indians that so I might (as really I would) have used all iust measures to prevent it

those Indians are under this Governm^t as doth appeare by his R^{ll} High^{ss} his patent from his Mat^y the King of England and their submitting themselves to this Govern^t as is manifest by o^r Records, his R^{ll} Highnesses territories reaching as far as the River of Canada and yet notwithstanding the people of y^r Govern^t Come upon the great lake as allso on this side of both lakes, a thing which will scarcely be beleaved in England

I desire you to hinder them from so doing ; & I will strictly forbidde the people of this Province to go on your side of the lakes this I haue hinted that there may be no occasion, as there shall not undoubtedly of mine, to break that desirable and faire Correspondence between the two Kings our Masters I am so heartily bent to promote the Quiet & tranquillity of this Country & yours that I intend forthwith to go myselfe to Albany on purpose ; and there send for the Indians, & require of them to do what is iust in order to a satisfaction to y^r pretences ; if they will not I shall not uniuistly protect them, but do for y^r Governm^t all that can be reasonably expected from me ; & in the mean time to continue & preserue a good Amity between us I think it convenient & desire that no Acts of hostility be cômmitted, such differences are of so weighty a concerne that they are most proper to be decided at home and not by us.

I do assure you S^r that no body liueing hath a greater desire that there should be a strict friendship betwixt the subjects of this Govern^t & yours then I haue and no body more willing upon all Occasions ivstly to approue my selfe S^r

Y^r humble Serv^t

THO. DONGAN.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

Fort Albany, July 1684.

Sir—I came to this town with an intention to sent for the Senegaues but was prevented by some of their Sachims being come hither expressly to meet me.

They tell me that your Intentions are to make warr against them and they believe that you have already entered their country which repport I can scarcely give credit to, after my last letter written to you.

You cannot be ignorant that those Indians are under this Government and I do assure you they have againe voluntarily given up both themselves and their lands to it, and in their application which they make to me, do offer, that if they have done anything amisse they will readily give all reasonable satisfaction.

Sr I should be very sorry to hear that you invade the Duke's Territories, after so just and honest an offer, and my promise, that the Indians shall punctually perform whatever can be in justice required for all these injuries which you complaine they have committed.

I do not doubt but that if you please, this affair may be quietly reconciled between you and the Indians, if not, as I wrote in my former, wee have Masters in Europe to whom we should properly referr.

To prevent as much as I can all the inconveniencies that may happen. I have sent the bearer with this letter and have ordered the Coates of Armes of His Royal Highnesse the Duke of York to be put up in the Indyan Castles which may diswade you from acting anything that may create a misunderstanding between us

Sir

I am with all respect

Most humble & affectionate

Servant

(Signed)

THO DONGAN

M. DE LA BARRE TO GOV. DONGAN.

[Paris Doc. II.; Lond. Doc. V.]

Camp at Lachine, 24 July 1694.

Sir—I was much astonished by the receipt of your two letters of the fifth of July, New Stile, seeing one in French written by you, which I knew came from you as from friend to friend, and

that written in English which I knew came from your Council and not from people disposed to maintain the union of our two Kings.

I sent *Sieur Bourbon* to you to advise you of the vengeance which I was about to wreak for the insult inflicted on the Christian name by the *Senecas* and *Cayugas*, and you answer me about pretensions to the possessions of lands of which neither you nor I are judges, but our two Kings who have sent us, and of which there is no question at present, having no thought of conquering countries but of making the Christian name and the French people to be respected, in which I will spill the last drop of my blood.

I have great esteem for your person, and considerable desire to preserve the honour of his Britannick Majesty's good graces as well as those of my Lord the Duke of York, and I even believe that they will greatly appreciate my chastisement of those who insult you and capture you every day, as they have done this winter in *Merilande*. But if I was so unfortunate as that you desired to protect robbers, assassins and traitors, I could not distinguish their protector from themselves. I pray you, then, to attach faith to the credit which I give *Sieur de Salvaye* to explain every thing to you ; and, if the *Senecas* and *Cayugas* wish your services as their intercessor to take security from them, not in the Indian but in the European fashion, without which and the honor of hearing from you, I shall attack them towards the 20th of the month of August, New Stile.

Sir

Your very humble Servant

LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.

[Par. Doc. II.; Lond. Doc. V.]

INSTRUCTIONS which Sieur de la Barre King's Councillor in his Councils, Governor & his Lieutenant General in all the Countries of New France and Acadie, Gives to Sieur de Salvaye his Ambassador to Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, to explain to him the unfaithfulness and violences committed by the Senecas and Cayugas against the French.

He is, in the first place, to make known to him the quarter where the pillage of the seven canoes was perpetrated, and that it is more than 400 leagues distant from here and an equal distance, at least, Southwest from Albany, in the 39th or 40th degree.

That that place has been occupied over 25 years by the French who there established Catholic Missions of the Jesuit Fathers, and traded there (*ont fait la traite*) since that time, without the English having ever known, or spoken of, that country.

That the question is not about the country of the Iroquois, nor the Eastern shores of Lake Erie.

That the Iroquois having lived, previous to the arrival of M. de la Barre, with little consideration for the French, he was desirous to speak with them, to see if they were friends or foes, and for that purpose they were all assembled at Montreal last August where every thing was arranged on a friendly basis; even the Senecas and Cayugas had demanded the said Sieur de la Barre to withdraw Sieur de la Salle from the government of Fort St. Louis, in Illinois; which he caused to be done and had the said Sieur de la Salle sent to France in the month of last November.

That notwithstanding this, and all the protestations they had made, a band of 200 warriors, Senecas and Cayugas having met in the month of March of this year, seven canoes manned by 14 Frenchmen, with fifteen or sixteen thousand pounds of Merchandize, who were going to trade with the Scious, towards the Southwest, pillaged them and took them prisoners, without any resistance from the said Frenchmen, who considered them as friends, and after having detained them nine days, with thousands of taunts and insults, released them without having given them either arms or canoes for provisions and to cross the rivers. After which the said Iroquois went and attacked Fort St. Louis, where Sieur Chevalier de Blangy was in the place of said Sieur de la Salle who

had been withdrawn at their request. Having made three assaults and been vigorously repulsed, they withdrew from before the said Fort the 29th of said month of March.

That Sieur de la Barre having seen these acts of hostility committed in time of established peace and which Teganeout their Ambassador was coming to him to confirm, he might have adopted two courses, one to detain the said ambassador, and the other to wage war against them, not being able to endure a treachery of that description against the Christian name and French Nation.

That, things being in this condition, he could not believe that Colonel Dongan would interfere therein in any way, if it were not to unite with him in destroying these traitors and Infidels.

That the Mohawks and Oneidas, neighbours of Albany, have no part in all this war, and that he has envoys at Onontagué to see if they will take a part.

That his troops being assembled and on the march, he cannot postpone attacking the Senecas unless by losing the campaign.

That in despatches dated the 5th of August last, the King his master was pleased to communicate to him the information which he had received from the King of England, of the appointment of Colonel Dongan as Governor of New York, with express orders to maintain good understanding and correspondence with said Sieur de la Barre, who, on that account, could have no idea that he had any intention to protect a treachery and injustice similar to that committed by villains on Frenchmen.

Done at the Camp of Lachine the 24th July 1684.

Signed,	LE FEBURE DE LA BARRE.
And lower down by	M. REGNAUT.

GOV. DONGAN TO M. DE LA BARRE.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

1. It is not intended that I will justify the wrong the Indians have done to the French so farr to the southwest as 400 leagues from Mont Royall or in any other place whatsoever, though in all

probability if we were to dispute these countreys so farr to the south west are more likely to be ours then the French haveing English Colonies much nearer them.

2. The pretences you make to that countrey by your 25 years possession, and sending Jesuits amongst them are very slender, and it may bee, you may have the same to other countries as for Jesuites living amongst them, how charitable soever it may bee it gives no right or title, and it is a great wonder that the English who so well know America should neither hear nor see in a long time the treaty you speak of

3. But if the matter in debate bee not concerning the land on the side of the lake of Canida, it is desired to know what it is concerning since the Indians offer to give satisfaction for what injuries can be proved to bee cômited by them as they say they have formerly done in such cases, and if they do not I never promised them any countenance from this government.

I wonder that Mons^r de la Barr should send for any Indians who ouned themselves under this Government to know whether they were friends or ennemies, since this Government at that time and at this present hath enjoyed for aught I know a full and perfect peace with the Government of Canida ; as for the case of La Salle I am not concerned in it but wonder you should send him to France upon the bare complaint of the Indians

As for the injuries, affronts, insolencies and robberyes comitted by the Indians upon the French, I have earnestly pressed them to make a submission and satisfaction, and that out of a true consideration of the misseryes that may happen by having a warr with such Savages.

I could heartily wish that the Sieur de la Barre had sooner given me notice of the act of hostility before he had detained Taganeout there Ambassadour, or made warr against them, that I might have used all just methods to prevent a warr that may be destructive to either party—

That the Governor of Canida does very well in believing what truly he ought that I will not interest myselfe in any manner to countenance such villanyes and if I did not think there was a middle way to compose that difference myselfe, I would be willing to joyne against them

I am glad you asured me that the neighbourghing Indians to Albany have no share in that warr, but I am sorry the troops are in soe great forwardness, that if my former advice had bin taken, there had been no absolute necessity to attaque the Indians or loose the campagne.

That it is very true, I ought to have a good correspondence with the Sieur de la Barr, and it is not nor ever shall be my fault if I have not, and I againe must tell you that I have no thought or inclination to protect any villany whatsoever.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER ADDRESSED BY LOUIS XIV. TO
MONSIEUR DE LA BARRE, THE 21st JULY, 1684.

[Paris Doc. II.]

Monsieur De la barre

I have seen by your letters of the 5th June last, the resolution you have taken to attack the Iroquois, and the reasons which moved you to it, and though it is a grave misfortune for the Colony of New France which will interrupt the trade of my subjects and divert them from the cultivation of the land and expose them to frequent insults on the part of the Iroquois Savages, who can frequently surprize them in distant settlements, without your being even in a state to succor them ; I do not hesitate to approve your adoption of that resolution since, by the insult they offered the fifteen Frenchmen whom they pillaged, and the attack on Fort St. Louis, you have had reason to believe that they seriously intended declaring war, and as I wish to place you in a position to sustain it, and bring it to a speedy termination, I have given orders for equipping the Ship L'Emerillon, on board which I have caused to be embarked three hundred soldiers quartered in the ports of Brest and Rochefort with the number of Officers and Marines contained in the lists which you will find annexed, and this reinforcement with that sent to you by the last vessels from Rochelle, and which you have learned from my preceding letters, will furnish you means to fight advantageously, and to destroy utterly those people, or at least to place them in a state, after

having punished them for their insolence, to receive peace on the conditions which you will impose on them.

You must observe as regards this war that even though you prosecute it with advantage, if you do not find means to wage it promptly, it will not the less cause the ruin of the colony, the people of which cannot subsist in the continual disquietude of being attacked by the Savages, and in the impossibility in which they find themselves of applying themselves to trade and the cultivation of their farms. Therefore whatever advantage you may derive for the glory of my arms and the entire destruction of the Savages by the continuation of this war, you ought to prefer peace which restoring quietness to my subjects will place you in a condition to increase the Colony by the means pointed out to you in my preceding letters.

I write to my ambassador in England to procure orders from the Duke of York to prevent him who commands at Baston assisting the Savages with troops, arms or ammunition, and I have reason to believe that orders will be despatched as soon as representations on my part will have been made.

I am very glad to tell you that from every thing I learn of what has occurred in Canada, the fault which you committed in not punctually executing my orders relative to the number of twenty-five licenses to be granted to my subjects, and the great number you have sent on all sides, in order to favor persons belonging to yourself, appears to me to have been the principal cause of what has happened on the part of the Iroquois. I hope you will repair this fault by giving a prompt and glorious termination to this war.

* * * * *

It appears to me also that one of the principal causes of the war arises from one Du Lhut having caused two Iroquois to be killed who had assassinated two Frenchmen in Lake Superior, and you sufficiently see how much this man's voyage, which cannot produce any advantage to the Colony, and which was permitted only in the interest of some private persons, has contributed to disturb the repose of the Colony.

As it concerns the good of my service to diminish as much as

possible the number of the Iroquois, and as these Savages who are stout and robust, will, moreover, serve with advantage in my galleys, I wish you to do every thing in your power to make a great number of them prisoners of war, and that you have them shipped by every opportunity which will offer for their removal to France

* * * * *

I desire likewise that you leave Fort Frontenac in the possession of Sieur de la Salle or those who are there for him, and that you do nothing in opposition to the interest of that man whom I take under my special protection.

MEMOIR OF M. DE LA BARRE

AS TO WHAT HAD OCCURRED AND HAD BEEN DONE REGARDING THE WAR
AGAINST THE SENECA.

[Paris Doc. II.]

Having been obliged to leave early in June, in conformity to the resolution adopted by the Intendant, the Bishop, the heads of the country and myself, to wage war against the Senecas for having, in cold blood, pillaged seven hundred canoes belonging to Frenchmen; arrested and detained the latter to the number of fourteen, as prisoners for nine days, and finally attacked Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, where the Chevalier de Bangy gallantly defended himself, and having resolved, at the same time, to seize Teganeout, one of their chiefs and his twelve companions who had come to ratify the peace made last year, who left their country before they heard of this attack, which circumstance would oblige me not to treat them ill, but merely to secure their persons, we considered three things necessary: First, to endeavour to divide the Iroquois among themselves, and for this purpose, to send persons expressly to communicate my sentiments to the Rev^d Jesuit Fathers who are Missionaries there and to request them to act; the second, to send to the Outaouacs to engage our French to come to my assistance by the South, by Lake Erie and to bring as many as they could of the Savages, our allies; and thirdly, to advise Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York of what we

were obliged to do, whilst at the same time I would throw a considerable reinforcement of men into Fort Frontenac to secure it. Being arrived at Montreal the tenth of the said month, we sent for Mr. Dollier, Superior of the Seminary of said town and of the Mission to the Indians of the Mountain, and the Reverend Pere Briare, Superior of the Mission of the Sault Saint Louis, who having concurred with us, furnished seven Christian Iroquois, friendly to the French and pretty shrewd, two of whom we sent with some Belts of Wampum to the Mohawks, and two to the Oneidas, to say to them that we were resolved to observe the peace made with them—that we were very willing to live there as with friends, and that we requested them not to interfere in the war which we were about to wage against the Senecas, who had cruelty insulted us in the person of the frenchmen whom they had plundered and seized, and fort St. Louis which they had attacked, since, and in violation of the peace made last year at Montreal; we sent the three others to Onontagué to explain the same things, and finally I despatched Sieurs Guillet and Hebert to the Outaouacs to advise Sieurs Ladurantaye and Dulhut of my design and of the need I had of their assistance, and sent my orders to the Rev. Father Enjalran, Superior of said Missions, to operate there and send orders to different quarters according to his usual zeal and capacity, whilst I despatched Sieur Bourbon to Orange or Manatte to notify Colonel Dongan of the insult the French had received from the Senecas, which obliged me to march against them, of which I gave him notice, assuring him that if he wished to revenge the twenty-six Englishmen of Merilande, whom they had killed last winter, I would promise him that I would unite my forces to his, that he may obtain satisfaction for it, or avenge them.

I next despatched Sieur Dutast, first captain of the King's troops, on the twentieth of the same month with five or six picked soldiers and six mechanics, carpenters and masons, with provisions and ammunition of war to throw themselves into Fort Frontenac and put it, in all haste, beyond insult; after which, having caused all to embark at la Chine, I proceeded from Montreal, on St. John's day, to return to Quebec where I had requested

the Intendant to make out the detachments of Militia which should follow me to the war, without inconvenience to the Country ; I arrived there on the twenty-sixth, having used great diligence on the route, and found the people ordered and some canoes purchased ; but as they were not sufficient for the embarkation of all, we caused fifteen flat (bottomed) pine batteaux, suitable for the conveyance, each, of fourteen or fifteen men, to be constructed in a hurry.

I divided all my small force into three divisions, I placed myself at the head of the first which I commanded to lead the van. I left the management of the second to Mr. D'Orvilliers, antient Captain of Infantry ; the third being composed of troops from the Island of Montreal and the environs, was commanded by Sieur Dugué, antient Captain of Carignan. Sieur D'Orvilliers had been, since the fore part of spring, reconnoitering Lake Ontario and the Seneca Country, to see where the descent should be made, and in what direction we should march to their two principal villages, of which he had made a faithful and exact plan. I selected, as Major of the Brigade which I commanded, Sieur de Villebon-Beccancour, formerly Captain of the King's Dragoons, so that acting in my place, as I was obliged to have an eye to all, I could confide in him ; he succeeded with all possible diligence and experience.

I left Quebec the ninth of July, at the head of Three hundred militiamen, accompanied by the said Sieur de Villebon, and arrived at Montreal the sixteenth, where I was joined by Sieur D'Orvilliers on the twenty-first, who brought me, in addition to two hundred and fifty militia, batteaux to embark the King's troops. Thus after having issued every possible order for the conveyance of provisions, in which I had much difficulty in consequence of the scarcity of canoes and of experienced persons to conduct them in the portages of the Rapids, I detached Sieur de Villebon to take the lead with my brigade, and the two companies of King's troops, and ordered them to pass the first and second portages, where I should join them, so that on the thirtieth I passed their encampment beyond the said second portage, and we marched next day, both brigades together, Sieur D'Orvilliers bringing up the

rear with the third one day behind us, so that being, on the 1st of August in Lake St. Francis with about two hundred canoes and our fifteen batteaux, I was joined there by the Rev. Father Lamberville, Junior, coming on behalf of his Brother from Onontagué, and by the Rev. Father Millet, from the Oneidas.

By the annexed letters from Onontagué, you will learn that these people having been joined by the Oneidas and Cayugas, had obliged the Senecas to make them Mediators as to the reparation suitable to be made to me for the insult which had unfortunately been committed against the French in the month of March; and prayed me to send Mr. le Moine to them, with whom they could terminate this affair. This obliged me immediately to despatch a canoe to Fort Frontenac in all haste, to send me from there the new bark which I had built in the winter, in order to freight her with the provisions I brought, and to send the canoes in which they were loaded to fetch others from la Chine.

We arrived, on the second, at the Portage of the Long Sault, which I found very difficult, notwithstanding the care I taken to send fifty men ahead thither, to cut the trees on the bank of the river and prevented those passing who were to drag the canoes and batteaux; because the stream being voluminous and the bank precipitous the people were in the water the moment they abandoned the shore, and were not strong enough to draw said batteaux; this necessitated my sojourn at that place, where having been joined by the Christian Iroquois of the Sault and of Montreal, they undertook, for a few presents of Brandy and Tobacco, to pass the said batteaux and the largest canoes, which they fortunately accomplished in two days without any accident.

On the morning of the fifth I found the new bark arrived at La Galette where I had all the provisions discharged from the canoes before eight o'clock in the morning, and these despatched at the same time on their return to la Chine to reload there. The strong winds from the South West, which constantly prevailed all this time, and which obstinately continued during the remainder of the month, were the cause of the great diligence that the bark had made, and likewise delayed our march so much, that I could not arrive, at the fort, with my canoes alone, until the ninth. I was

joined there by Father de Lamberville whom I despatched next day to his brother at Onnontague whom I instructed to assure those of that Nation that I had so much respect for their request and for those of the other two, that I should prefer their mediation to war, provided they made me a reasonable satisfaction.

Three things obliged me to adopt this resolution : the first, because it appeared by letters I had received from Colonel Dongan, in answer to the message by the man named Bourbon, that he was very far from the good understanding of which His Majesty had assured me ; but much disposed to interfere as our enemy in this matter. The second, because I had few provisions, and I did not see that any effort was made to forward flour to me, with any diligence, from Montreal ; and the third, because the wind prevailed so strong from the South east, that my bark did not return from La Galette, and I could not despatch another to Lake Ontario, to notify the army of the South, which was to arrive forthwith at Niagara, of my arrival at Fort Frontenac with that of the North.

I afterwards reviewed all our troops, as annexed, and Sieur le Moine having overtaken me on the same day with the remainder of the Christian Iroquois who had not previously arrived, I despatched him on the sixteenth to Onnontague and placed in his hands, Tegancourt, the ambassador from the Senecas, whom I had arrested at Quebec. Seeing the wind always contrary I sent on the preceding day, eight of the largest canoes that I had to the bark at La Galette to bring me ten thousand weight of flour, bread beginning to fail which caused me a good deal of uneasiness and created considerable murmurs among the troops and the militia. Finally on the 21st my canoes arrived with what I sent them for. I set to work immediately with all possible diligence to have bread and biscuit baked, and sent off forthwith, the King's troops, D'Orvilliers' and Dugué's two brigades, and two hundred Christian savages to encamp at La Famine [Hungry bay], a post favorable for fishing and hunting and four leagues from Onontagué, so as to be nearer the enemy and to be able to refresh our troops by fishing and the chase, whilst we were short

of provisions, intending to join them, myself, with about three hundred Frenchmen whom I had remaining.

On the 25th the canoes which I had detached from La Galette to Montreal, arrived, but in far less number than I had looked for, and brought me but eight or nine thousand weight of flour, instead of twenty thousand which I expected, having left them ready for loading when I departed. I caused bread and biscuit to be immediately made of it for the support of our troops who were at the place called La Famine.

On the 27th at four o'clock in the afternoon, a canoe of M. Lemoine's men arrived from Onnontagué with Tegancourt who reported to me, that the Onnontagués had received orders from Col. Dongan which he sent by the person named Arnaud, forbidding them to enter into any treaty with me without his express permission, considering them the Duke of York's subjects, and that he had caused the Arms of the said Duke to be planted three days before, in their village; that the Council had been convened at the said place of Onontague and Sieur Lemoine invited to repair thither, in which the matter having been debated, these savages got into a furious rage, with some danger to the English delegate, saying they were free, and that God, who had created the Earth, had granted them theirs without subjecting them to any person, and they requested the elder Father Lamber-ville to write to Colonel Dongan the annexed letter, and the said Sieur Lemoine having well sustained the French interests, they unanimously resolved to start in two days, to conclude with me at La Famine. On the receipt of this news I immediately called out my canoes in order to depart and was accompanied by a dozen of others having caused six of the largest to be loaded with bread and biscuit for the army.

After having been beaten by bad weather and high wind, we arrived in two days at La Famine. I found there tertian and double tertian fever which broke out among our people so that more than one hundred and fifty men were attacked by it; I had also left some of them at the fort, which caused me to despatch, on arriving, a Christian savage to Onontague to M. Lemoine, to request him to cause the instant departure of those who were to

come to meet me, which he did with so much diligence, though he and his children were sick, that he arrived as early as the third of September with fourteen Deputies; nine from Onnontague, three from Oneida and two Cayugas, who paid me their respects and whom I entertained the best manner I was able, postponing until the morrow morning the talk about business, at which matters were fully discussed and peace concluded after six hours deliberation, three in the morning and as many after dinner, Father Brias speaking for us and Hotrehonati and Garagonkier for the Iroquois; Tegancout, a Seneca present, the other Senecas not daring to come in order not to displease Col. Dongan, who sent to promise them a reinforcement of four hundred horse and four hundred foot, if we attacked them. The treaty was concluded in the evening on the conditions annexed, and I promised to decamp the next day and withdraw my troops from their vicinity; which I was, indeed, obliged to do by the number of sick which had augmented to such a degree that it was with difficulty I found enough of persons in health to remove the sick to the canoes, besides the scarcity of provisions having no more than the trifle of bread which I brought them.

I allowed the Onontagues to light the Council fire at this post without extinguishing that at Montreal, in order to be entitled to take possession of it by their consent when the King should desire it and thereby exclude the English and Col. Dongan from their pretensions.

On leaving the Fort I had ordered one of the barks to go to Niagara to notify the army of the South to return by Lake Erie toward Missilimakinack. She had a favorable passage; found it arrived only six hours previously to the number of seven hundred men, viz: one hundred and fifty French and the remainder Indians.

I departed on the sixth, having had all the sick of my troops embarked before day (so as not to be seen by the Indians) to the number of one hundred and fifty canoes and twelve flat batteaux and arrived in the evening of the same day at Fort Frontenac, where I found one hundred and ten men, of the number I had left there, already departed, all sick, for Montreal, and having

given the necessary orders as to the number of soldiers to be left there for the security of that post, until the arrival from France of *Sieur de la Forest*, Major thereof, I started, about nine or ten o'clock in the morning, on my return. Shortly after my departure, the bark arrived from *Niagara* with some French officers of the army who brought me news from it at night, and assured me that the Chiefs of all the savages had accompanied them to the Fort, desirous to see me, and that they would visit me at *Montreal*, where I should await them. The *Rev. Father de Lamber ville Senr* came, likewise, with these Gentlemen on account of some difficulties which he was very glad to arrange for *Onontague* whither he returned. We worked some hours together ; I then sent him back to the fort with some of the arrived French ; the others being desirous to leave and come down again into the country.

After having waited some time for *Messrs du Tast* and *de Ca honet*, to whom I gave one of my canoes and two of my attendants well acquainted with the navigation, to pilot their batteaux and troops in safety through the rapids, I resumed my journey down the river. I likewise took on board one of my canoes the *Sieur Le Moine* whose fever had seriously augmented, and who had served the King in this affair with so much zeal and affection, aided by the intimate knowledge he had of the *Iroquois* language, that it may be said the entire Colony owe him a debt of eternal gratitude.

Finally, in my return of three days I accomplished what cost us thirteen in ascending, and found in the stores at *Montreal* and *la Chine*, forty-five thousand weight of flour, which, had we received it, would have enabled us to have made a longer sojourn in the upper country.

Done at *Quebec* the 1st day of October 1684.

LE FEBURE DE LA BARE.

PRESENTS MADE BY THE ONNONTAGUES TO ONONTIO, AT
LA FAMINE, THE 5th 7ber 1684.*

[From the same.]

The Onnontagués, whose mediation between the French and the Senecas the General accepted, having repaired to a place called La Famine about 25 leagues from their country, Sieur Hateouati, who is the Orator of that Nation, spoke by fifteen presents, not only on behalf of the Senecas, but also for the other Iroquois Nations.

1st Word of the Iroquois. After having taken God to witness the sincerity of his heart, and having assured Onontio of the truth of his words, he spoke in this wise :

I give you a Beverage devoid of bitterness, to purify whatever inconvenience you may have experienced during the voyage, and to dispel whatever bad air you may have breathed between Montreal and this place.

*Answer of Onontio to the words of Hateouaté :—*As I have placed in your hands the mediation with the Senecas, I wish, truly, to do what you ask me. I, therefore, lay down my Hatchet and refer to you to obtain a reasonable satisfaction.

2^d Word. I remove the hatchet with which you threaten to strike the Senecas. Remember he is your child, and that you are his father.

3^d Word. Mr. Lemoine, your ordinary envoy, having come last year, and speaking to us in your name, cut a deep ditch into which he told us you and we should cast all the unkind things that might occur ; I have not forgotten this word, and in obedience to it, I request you to throw into that ditch the Seneca robbery, and that it may disturb neither our country nor yours.

Answer. That ditch is well cut, but as your young men have no sense, and as they may make this a pretext for committing acts of hostility anew, after having cast the Seneca robbery into that ditch, as you desire ; arrest, then, your young men, as I shall restrain mine. I cover it up forever.

* Endorsed by the Minister, "These letters must be kept secret."

4th *Word*. I set up again the tree of peace, which we planted at Montreal, in the conference we had the honor to have with you last summer.

Answer. It is not I who think of throwing it down : it is your nephews who have seriously shaken it. I strengthen it.

5th *Word*. I exhort you, Father, to sustain it strongly, in order that nothing may shake it.

6th *Word*. I again tie up (*je rattache*) the Sun which was altogether obscured : I dispel all the clouds and mists that concealed it from our view.

7th *Word*. The robbery committed by the Senecas on your nephews, is not a sufficient motive to make war against them. Where has blood been shed? I promise you that satisfaction shall be afforded you for the loss the French have experienced by the pillage of their merchandize.

Answer of Onontio. It is good that you promise me satisfaction : deceive me not. The first thing that I expect of you is that you restore me the two prisoners of Etionnontaté who are with the Seneca, and a third who remains at Cayuga.

8th *Word*. Onontio, my father, I feel uneasy and cannot pluck up courage, whatever kindnesses you have the goodness to show me. What disquiets me, is to behold Soldiers, hear drums, etc. I pray you return to Quebec, so that your children may sleep in peace.

Answer. I depart to-morrow and quit this country, to show you what deference I pay to your demands.

9th *Word*. The fires of peace and the halls of our Councils were at Frontenac or at Montreal. The former is a poor country where the Grasshoppers prevent me sleeping, and the second is far away for our old men. I kindle the fires of peace on this spot, which is the most agreeable that we can select, where there is good fishing, hunting, &c.

Answer. I accept the selection you have made of this place for our conferences, without, however, extinguishing the fire which I keep burning at Montreal.

10th *Word*. Our warriors have, as well as our other chiefs, accepted the peace. I bear their words by this belt.

Answer. You need not doubt the obedience of my soldiers ; endeavour to make yourselves obeyed by your own. To prove to you that I maintain uphold the tree of peace, I sent to Niagara to cause the army to return which was coming from that direction.

11th *Word.* You told us, last summer, to strike the enemy no more. We heard your voice. We shall not go to war again in that quarter.

Answer. Remember that the Maskoutenek is brother to the Oumeami. Therefore strike neither the one nor the other.

12th *Word.* He has killed some, this spring, in divers rencontres, but as you bound my arms I allowed myself to be beaten, without defending myself.

Answer. That's good ; you need not pursue the Oumeami who struck you ; I shall send him word not to commit any more acts of hostility.

13th *Word.* Regarding the Illinois, I am at war with him ; we shall, both of us, die fighting.

Answer. Take heed, in firing at the Illinois, not to strike the French whom you meet on your path and in the neighbourhood of Fort St. Louis.

14th *Word.* Restore to us the Missionaries whom you have withdrawn from our villages.

Answer. They shall not be taken from you who are our mediators ; and when the Senecas shall have commenced to give me satisfaction, they shall be restored to them as well as to the other nations.

15th *and last Word.* Prevent the Christians of the *Sault* and of the Mountain coming any more among us, to seduce our people to Montreal ; let them cease to dismember our country as they do every year.

Answer. It is not my children of the *Sault* nor of the Mountain who dismember your country ; it is yourselves who dismember it by your drunkenness and superstitions. Besides, there is full liberty to come and reside among us ; no person is retained by force.

The General added two presents to the above.

By the first he said : You see the consideration which I have

for the request you have made me. I ask you in return; if the Seneca, Cayuga or any other commit a similar insult against me, that you first give him some sense, and if he will not hear you, that you abandon him as one disaffected.

By the last belt, he exhorted them to listen not to evil sayings, and told them to conduct Tegannehout back to Seneca and to inform these of the above conclusions.

M. DE MEULLES TO THE MINISTER.

[From the same.]

My Lord—I thought you would be impatient to learn the success and result of the war the General had undertaken against the Iroquois which rendered it necessary for him to call a part of the people of this country together and make all necessary preparation, at his Majesty's expense, for this expedition. The troops have been as far as a place called La Famine, thirty leagues beyond Fort Frontenac. The army consisted of nine hundred French and three hundred Savages, and from the Niagara side there was another army of six hundred men, one third of whom were French and the remainder Ottawas and Hurons, amounting in all to eighteen hundred men.

What Indians there were evinced the best disposition to fight the Iroquois to the death. Sieur de la Durantaye who brought the last six hundred men from Missilimakinak, has informed us that he learned from a Miami Chief that more than a thousand Illinois were coming to our aid on learning that we were about to fight the Iroquois, to such a degree are they their irreconcilable enemies. Certainly, never was there remarked a better disposition to fight and conquer them and purge the country of that nation which will be eternally our enemy. All the French breathed nothing but war, and though they saw themselves obliged to abandon their families, they consoled themselves with the hope of liberating them by one victory from a nation so odious as the Iroquois, at whose hands they constantly dreaded ambushes and destruction. But the General did not think proper to

push matters any farther, and without any necessity sent *Sieur Le Moyne* to the said *Iroquois* to treat of peace at a time when every one was in good health, and when all necessary provision was made of food, &c. to dare every enterprize; and finally after various comings and goings on one side and the other, the General concluded peace such as you will see by the articles which I take the liberty to send you as written by the hand of his Secretary.

This peace, my Lord, has astonished all the Officers who had the command in that army and all those who composed it, who have testified so deep a displeasure and so sovereign a contempt for the General's person that they could not prevent themselves evincing it to him. I assure you, my Lord, that had I strayed ever so little from my duty and not exhibited exteriorly, since his return, the respect I owe his character, the whole world would have risen against him and would have been guilty of some excess.

The said General excuses himself because of the sick and even says that the troops lacked food; to which I feel obliged to answer, being certain that he seeks every pretext and has recourse to every expedient to exculpate himself and perhaps to put the blame on me.

'Tis certain that there was a great number of sick among the Militia which he took with him to Fort Frontenac, who were in perfect good health on arriving there, but having encamped them for a fortnight in prairies between the woods and a pond, it is not surprizing that some fell sick. Again he made them camp at *La Famine* in places that were never inhabited, entirely surrounded by swamps, which contributed still considerably to the sickness in his army; and had he remained there longer he would not have saved a man. This has caused every one to say that he did not care, that he had not the least desire to make war; that he made no use of his long sojourns except employing them in his negociations. Had he seriously wished to make war on the said *Iroquois* he would not have remained ten to twelve days at *Montreal*, fourteen or fifteen at Fort Frontenac and as many at *La Famine* but would have remained merely a day or two, and

would have used the greatest despatch to fight the Iroquois, and not uselessly consumed all his provisions; he would have, indubitably surprised the said Iroquois who did not expect this war, especially as the greater number of their young men had been at war in the beginning of the spring.

He says he lacked provisions; though that were true, he would be the cause and could not but accuse himself of imprudence, having supplied him, generally, with whatever he required of me, of which the whole country is a witness, and with a little precaution or rather good faith he would have had every thing in abundance. He had determined not to leave until the 15th of August; he departed on the 15th July. That did not prevent me furnishing all that he required of me, such as batteaux, canoes, arms, ammunition, and all the provision he desired. This is so true that there yet remained at the end of the island of Montreal, at a place called La Chine thirty-five thousand weight of flour and five of biscuit which he found on his return, and which he had requested me to retain for him at Montreal. Had he not halted and had he been disposed to push into the Iroquois Country, the first convoy of provisions which accompanied him had sufficed, the greater number of the militia, unwilling to wait for the King's supplies having laid in their own private stock; the greater part of which they brought back with them, which all the Captains in command will certify. This convoy consisted of eighteen canoes full of biscuit, pork, brandy and apparently other things which I do not precisely know having been loaded at Montreal whilst I was at Quebec where I issued orders for the provisions that the General had demanded of me and for attending to the harvest of those who had gone to the war.

If it had been the General's design to make war, he should not have caused the cargoes of the eighteen canoes I have mentioned to be put into barks thirty leagues from Montreal above the Rapids, instead of letting the voyage be continued by the canoemen who were paid to go to Fort Frontenac and who had already accomplished the roughest half of the road, and who, without a doubt, would have arrived in three days at the Fort, which was represented to him by all the officers who stated to

him that the barks required wind which being contrary would keep them more than three weeks from arriving. This turned out to be true. Notwithstanding all these reasons he absolutely insisted that all the said provisions should be put in the barks. Some have assured me that the canoes of said convoy were partly laden with merchandize, and not being very desirous to let the circumstance be known, he had caused the said barks to precede the canoes to put the goods secretly into them and keep the knowledge of it from every body. By these means he made use of these canoes to convey these merchandizes to the Fort at the King's expense, which he has always practised for two years, ever pretending certain necessity to transport munitions of war, and to make use, by this means, of the conveyances for which the King is made to pay, under pretext to keep the Fort in good order. It is impossible to conceive the quantity of Brandy that he has caused to be conveyed thither during eighteen months, of which I have had most positive information, and of which I had the honour to advise you in my last. Others supposed that he had the said provisions put on board those barks in order to obtain time and by this address, to negotiate a peace with the Iroquois, as he had sent *Sieur Le Moyne* to them who is a very brave man and who despaired of all these negotiations, stating openly that they ought to be whipt. All the delays at Montreal, the Fort, and at La Famine caused the useless consumption of a portion of the supplies which, however, did not fail; other convoys having been received from time to time, but these were always wasted without any thing having been done.

After the said General had determined in his own mind on this war, he sent the man named Bourbon, an inhabitant of this country to Colonel Dongan to advise him that he was obliged to wage war against the Iroquois, requesting him not to afford them any aid; which he confided to me eight days after the departure of the said Bourbon. This obliged me to tell him that I was astonished that he should have thus proceeded; that the Iroquois having insulted us and intending to fight with and destroy them, I should not have deemed it proper to inform neighbours who have an interest in our destruction; and that he afforded thereby an op-

portunity to Col. Dongan, who is an Englishman, and consequently our born enemy, to give underhand information of our designs to the Iroquois, and convey secretly to them all that may be necessary for their defence against us. I asked him if he did not perceive that the English would never desire our advantage, and that they would contribute all in their power to destroy us, though at peace as regards France; that they would always be jealous of the Fur trade prosecuted by us in this Country, which would make them protect the Iroquois always against us.

This Bourbon negotiation gave Colonel Dongan occasion to use some rhodomontade as the General has informed me; and this assuredly it was that obliged him, having this information, to send an Englishman, who is in the habit of trading among the said Indians, to plant the Duke of York's arms among the Onnontagués, which is an Iroquois village, wishing by that act to take the first possession of the Country. We have not heard talk of any other movement on the English side, and it is even certain that they will never cause us any dread from that quarter and that they could not prevent us to achieve that conquest this year, had the General been willing to fight.

You can hardly believe, my Lord, that the General has, alone, undertaken the war without having consulted any person, neither officers of the army nor gentlemen, nor the people of the country who are the most interested, nor any individual whosoever he might be, except Sier de la Chesnayne, with whom he acts in concert for the entire destruction and ruin of the country. He has again made peace in this manner without any communication with any of the officers or others of those who were near his person. What seems a wonder in the country is that one individual, subject of his Majesty like others, should, of his own will, make war and peace without having consulted or demanded the opinion of any person. His Majesty never acted thus. He has his Council of War, and when he is about to wage it, he demands advice of those of his council, in communicating to them the reasons which he may have to do so, and even causes the publication of manifests throughout the Kingdom, wishing to communicate to his people the justice of his undertakings. But the

General has treated of peace, like a sovereign, with the said Iroquois, having employed none of those who were nigh him and who were acquainted with the Iroquois tongue, except as Interpreters. He dare not consult the officers, being certain that they would all have concluded on war; and but little was necessary to make them select a chief from among themselves to attack the enemy.

The said General proceeds at the head of a small force to make war against the Iroquois, and far from doing that, he grants them all they ask. His principal design was to attack the Senecas, but instead of showing him any civility, they did not even condescend to come and meet him, and gave an insolent answer to those who proposed it to them. If people had any thing to say to them, let them take the trouble and come and meet them. There came altogether on this embassy only a certain sycophant who seeks merely a good dinner, and a real buffoon called among the French *La Grande Gueule* [Big Throat,] accompanied by eight or ten miserable fellows who fooled the General in a most shameful manner, which you will perceive by the articles of peace I have the honour to send you, and which I doubt not he also will send you. They will assuredly excite your pity. You will see he abandons the Illinois among whom M. de la Salle is about to establish himself and who are the cause of this war, inasmuch as the Iroquois attacked them even in Fort St. Louis which the said Sieur de la Salle had erected among them; and of which the General took possession, having ousted and driven away those whom the said Sieur de la Salle had left in command there, and whither he sent Sieur de Bangy his lieutenant of the guards, who is still there.

When he concluded this peace he already had His Majesty's letter eight days in his possession, but so far from conforming to its intentions, he consents to the slaughter of the Illinois who are our allies, and where His Majesty designed to plant a new Colony or some powerful establishment under M. de la Salle's direction. I consider it also my duty to inform your Lordship that the General quit La Famine the moment the peace was concluded without taking the least care of the troops, abandoning them al-

together to their own guidance, forbidding them on pain of death to leave the place until a long time after him, fearing to be surprised by the Iroquois, and having (so to say) lost his wits, caring little what became of the army. Certain it is that he went up to the Fort without taking information about any thing and returned in the same manner.

The worst of this affair is the loss of the trade which I find inevitable, because the Outawas and other Savages who came to our aid will hereafter entertain no respect for us, and will regard us as a people without courage and without resolution. I doubt not, my lord, but the General sends you a letter which he received from Father Lamberville, Jesuit, who is a missionary in an Iroquois village at Onnontagué, whence those ambassadors came with whom peace was negotiated. The Father, who had learned the General's intentions from Sieur Le Moynes, has been wise and sufficiently discreet, anticipating his design, to write to him in accordance with his views, and to ingeniously solicit that which must flatter and highly please him. But one thing, is certain that all the Jesuits at Quebec, and particularly Father Bechefer have openly stated in Quebec for six weeks, that the country was destroyed if peace were concluded ; which is so true, that having communicated to him the two letters I wrote to the General, he highly approved of them and advised me to send them to the fort. I shall take leave to send you copies of them, requesting you very respectfully, to be persuaded that I speak to you without passion, and that I state nothing to you but what is most true and reliable, and because I feel obliged to let you know the truth as regards all things, without which you will never have the least confidence in me.

I should wish, my Lord, to avoid explaining myself in this manner, fearing you might infer that we were, the General and I, greatly disunited, which is quite contrary to the manner in which we live together, since it is certain that we never had, personally, the least difference wishing in that to conform myself to your wishes and His Majesty's orders, aware that it is the most assured means that I can take to be agreeable to you, which is the sole ambition I have in the world, and to prove to you that no per-

son can be with more profound respect and greater devotedness than I, my Lord,

Your very humble and very ob: servt.

This, my Lord, is only incidentally. I defer informing you of what has occurred in this country during this year, until the departure of the vessels.

Quebec, the 10th 8^{ber} 1684.

DEMEULLES.

FATHER LAMBERVILLE, MISSIONARY AT ONONDAGA, TO
M. DE LA BARRE.

[Onondaga,] July 10, 1684.

Sir,—A general Assembly of all the Iroquois will be held here at which it is intended to unite against you, and to inform the Senecas that you wish to persuade the four Iroquois Nations not to aid them in case of war. I am surprised that M. Le Moyne or some other persons have not told you that all the villages were confederated, and that one could not be attacked without becoming embroiled with the others.

Did affairs permit, I should have much wished to tell you my thoughts on many things. My brother will inform you of all when he will have the honor to see you. The On[non]tagués who have been spoken to, would like much to settle matters; this is the reason my brother goes to you, whilst I still keep them disposed to give you satisfaction, in order to avoid if possible an infinitude of evils which will overtake Canada, and as I know not whether you desire war without listening to proposals for peace, I wish to understand whether it is not fitter that I withdraw, if possible, rather than give occasion to the Iroquois to say that I deceived them, by propositions for peace. The Onontagués and other nations say, that it grieves them to take up arms against you who are their neighbour, and who form almost one country with them.

They acknowledge that the Senecas are proud and insolent on account of their great number of warriors, but if you are desirous

to maintain peace by some satisfaction which they will induce the Senecas to make you, it will be very acceptable, so as not to be obliged to come to extremities which will be very disastrous. If war occurs, Sir, all those who have houses apart from fortified places must at once abandon their dwellings, for the grain and the houses will be burned, and many will otherwise be brought away prisoners to be cruelly tormented and insulted. I always think that peace ought to be most precious to you, and that all the advantages that can be held out ought to cause you to shrink from war. A delay in order to arrange every thing more at leisure and after having received assistance from France, would extricate you from much embarrassment which will follow from all sides. Pardon me if I give free expression to my thoughts; you will not at least disapprove of the zeal with which I am with much respect and submission

Your very humble and

Very Obedient Servant

(Signed) DELAMBERVILLE.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

11 July 1684.

Sir,—A troop of Senecas on their way to buy their supplies and munitions of powder, lead, and arms are two days [distance] from here. They are expected in order to talk fully of affairs and to endeavour for the preservation peace to induce them to give you satisfaction. I believe if you are really desirous to come to an arrangement in which an effort will be made to satisfy you, and wherein will be prescribed the boundaries of war and trade, you would have leisure to provide with less trouble and embarrassment for the security of Canada, either by erecting forts at La Famine or towards the Senecas under the pretext of establishing a blacksmith, or at La Galette according as you think proper.

I do not believe that you will derive any advantage this year from war, if you wage it; for not only will almost the whole of the Iroquois prosecute the war in Canada, but you will not find

the Senecas in their villages, in which they give out they will not shut themselves up, but conceal themselves in the grass and prepare ambuscades every where for you. Regarding your declaration to the Iroquois that you had no ill will except against the Senecas, they convoked a general Diet here where they will conclude to league themselves against you, if you will not accept the propositions of peace for which the Onnontagué wishes to obtain the consent of the Seneca who has already placed in security the old grain, and made a retreat in the woods for the children, women and old men, of which you will be ignorant.

The Warriors are to prowl every where, killing without if possible being killed. If their Indian corn be cut, it will cost much blood and men—You must also resolve to lose the harvest of the French grain to which the Iroquois will set fire. As for the French settlements, the Iroquois suppose that they are all abandoned and that the people have retired within the forts; otherwise, they would be a prey to the enemy. It is the opinion that if you begin the war, it will be of long duration, and that to feed those in Canada you will have to bring provisions from France. The Iroquois believes that he will destroy the Colony in case of war, for he will never fight by rule against us and will not shut himself up in any fort in which he might be stormed. Thus they are under the impression that, no person daring to come into unknown forests to pursue them, they can neither be destroyed nor captured, having a vast hunting ground in their rear, towards Merilande and Virginia, as well as places adjoining their villages, wholly unknown to the French. If winter were not so cold in this country, that would be the time to wage war, for one can then see all around, and the trail cannot be concealed; but every thing must be carried—provisions, arms, powder, and lead. You can not believe, Sir, with what joy the Senecas learned that you would, possibly, determine on war; and from the report the savages make them of the preparations apparent at Kataroskouy, they say, that the French have a great desire to be stript, roasted and eaten; and that they will see if their flesh, which they say is salt on account of the salt they make use of be as good as that of their other enemies whom they devour.

The envoy of the Governor of New York who is here promises the Iroquois goods at a considerable reduction ; 7 a 8 lbs. of powder for a Beaver ; as much lead as a man can carry for a Beaver, and so with the rest.

Every thing considered, Sir, if you will be content with a satisfaction which we will endeavor to obtain for you from the Senecas, you will prevent great evils which must fall on Canada in case of war ; you will divert from it famine and many misfortunes, especially will you avoid much confusion and great suffering to the French who will fall into the hands of the Iroquois, who, as you are aware, exercise the most cruel and shameful cruelties towards their captives. Independent of there being no profit in fighting with this sort of banditti whom you, assuredly, will not catch and who will catch many of your people who will be surprised in every quarter.

The man called Hannatakta and some others of influence told me they pitied you. These are their words—they besought you not to force them to wage war against you ; that the five Nations would be obliged to unite against you ; that the French and the Iroquois being so near the one to the other, the war would be too disastrous to you, because, say they, our mode of fighting, of harassing, of living, of surprizing and flying to the woods will be the ruin of the French who are accustomed to fight against towns capable of defence or against armies who appear in the plains ; if there be misunderstanding it ought to be settled. All the Iroquois are persuaded that before going to war you will try the ways of mildness and tell the Senecas to appease your anger for what they have plundered ; that if you begin by a desire to wage war and will not act as a father towards your children, they have already declared beforehand that they will all unite against you.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

July 13. 1684.

My Lord—I have the honor to write to you by Father Millet who passes here in retiring from among the Iroquois who cannot be persuaded that you have determined on waging war against them, not having demanded any satisfaction of them for the merchandize of the Frenchmen whom the Senecas plundered. To turn away the scourge of war and the miseries which must follow it, especially among the French who will find themselves attacked by all the Iroquois if any hostile act is committed against the Senecas, I have strongly urged the Onnontagues to give you satisfaction according to the instructions which the Christian Iroquois, your deputies here, had. To-morrow a great number of Senecas are expected with several Cayugas and the Ambassadors from the two Lower Nations to talk about business.

The Senecas consequent on the declaration you made to them that you would proceed to their country, have concealed their old grain, prepared a distant retreat in the wooden fort for the security of their old men, women and children, and conveyed whatever they have of value out of their villages. The Warriors in great number have heard this news with much joy; they are determined to fight, not in their forts for they have none, and will not shut themselves up any where, but under cover, behind trees, and in the grass where they will try to do you considerable injury, if you want war. The Onnontagues—men of business—wish to arrange matters, especially having lost nothing of theirs, except only some goods. Must the father and children, they ask, cut each others throats for clothes? The children must satisfy the father to whom they owe honor and respect.

Further, I, last year, guarantied by two Wampum belts—one to the Senecas and the other here—that if the Iroquois army met the French who were towards Illinois, and any acts of hostility should follow on one side or the other, they would mutually arrange the difficulty without it leading to any consequences, and this is what we are endeavoring to persuade the Senecas to

do. Father Millet, to whom I communicated all, and who has just passed, will tell you every thing and how apropos it would be that M. le Moine should come here to fetch those Chiefs and Warriors who will most willingly meet you under the safe conduct which you will give them through M. le Moine (who can come here in all surety and without any fear) to be conducted to your rendezvous near Seneca or to the Fort, in order to settle matters in a friendly manner.

The Iroquois say they will not commit any act of hostility against you, unless you commence either by attacking the Senecas or by refusing all satisfaction, for they remark, it is painful to come to blows with their Father. They all say that their mode of warfare will be disastrous to you, but that the respect they entertain towards you, and which we insinuate among them, withholds them until they are forced, they add, to wage a sorrowful war, despite themselves, against you. They wish, first of all, they say, to avoid the reproach of not having kept their word which they gave. I told M. le Moine of the above.

My brother expects to leave with your deputies to carry to you the result of the Iroquois Diet, where the Onnontagué who assumes to be a moderator, pretends to force the Senecas to disavow what two of their captains caused their warriors to do, and to quieten again your mind; that is, they say, by some satisfaction which may afford you an honorable pretext to pay a friendly visit to Kaniatarontagouat [now, Irondequot Bay] and not to appear there as an enemy.

I forgot to inform you that the Iroquois say they have accepted the satisfaction they received for the death of their captain, Hannenhax, killed by the Kiskakous, and that it would seem very strange to them that you should refuse the satisfaction they wish to induce the Senecas to give you for the pillaged merchandize which, in their estimation is next to nothing compared with that important [council] fire in your children's cabin. I pray God that He conduct matters for His glory and the country's good and that He preserve you long, which is the wish, my Lord, of

Your very humble & very obt^l Serv^t,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

18 July, 1684.

Sir—The Council convoked at Onnontagué was, at length, held on the 16th and 17th of July. You will see by the memoir I enclose in this letter what you said to the Onnontagués and what they reply by three Belts. Since you spoke, or I have made you speak to the Senecas assembled here in a body, Chiefs and Warriors, and their answer, we have spoken to them by three Belts and they have answered you by nine.

These are twelve Belts which your ambassadors take to you. I know not if you will accept the trifling pains we have taken to cause satisfaction to be given you, and to extricate you from the fatigues, the embarrassments and consequences of a disastrous war, and procure at the same time freedom of trade ; for the Senecas informed me at night, by express, that they would give you more satisfaction than you expected, because they wished through respect for you, not to wage war any more against the Oumiamis, if you so wish it, and even any other nation if you insist on it. In fine, they do not wage war save but to secure a good peace. They return without striking a blow, without shedding blood, etc. The Seneca Iroquois offer you more than you would have believed.

The Onnontagués considered their honour engaged to this meeting, and have put all sorts of machinery in motion to induce the Senecas to condescend to place their affairs in their hands. On the first day of the Council every thing was almost despaired of, and the plenipotentiaries all excited came to see me, saying they gained nothing on the Senecas, and that up to that time they most willingly accepted war ; that they rejected the presents which you and they had made them. They sent me back a collection of belts, that the chiefs and warriors acted with great zeal in combatting the obstinacy of the Senecas so that having gained the Oneidas and Cayugas over to to their side, they came to high words. Deputies, notwithstanding, succeeded one another to sound me on the state of affairs and to learn the true cause of the withdrawal of our Mis-

sionaries. Finally I told them that the real cause was, that the displeasure which they perceived you felt, and which they also entertained at being disparaged by the Senecas, had caused them to withdraw to you, until they should have satisfied you. At length the Onnontagués persuaded them to confide in them and to place their affairs in their hands—that if you did not accept their mediation, they should unite according to their policy, with all the other Iroquois against you. La Grande Gueule and his triumvirate have assuredly signalized themselves in this rencontre. My brother, who will inform you of every thing, will relate matters more in detail. We, however, await your orders which you will please convey to us by M. le Moine whom the Onnontagués request you to send instantly to them at Choueguen [Oswego] in all security and without the least fear.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onontagué, this 17th August, 1684.

My Lord—Your people have brought my brother back here with the greatest possible diligence, having been wind bound three days, at one island. In order not to cause you any delay, which could only produce a useless consumption of provisions by your army, they arrived here with Sieur le Duc at midnight and having passed the rest of the night in conferring together, we had the Chiefs and Warriors assembled at day light after having obtained information from *La Grande Gueule* and *Garakontie*.

We declared our intentions in the presence of several Senecas who departed the same day to return to their country where they will communicate our approach. They carry one of your belts to reassure those who are alarmed by your armament. The Onnontagués have despatched some of theirs to notify the Oneida, the Mohawk and the Cayuga to repair to Ochouegen [Oswego] to salute you and to reply to your proposals. They wish so much to see M. le Moine here whom you promised them would come, that it appears that nothing could be done should he not arrive. Also,

as you advised them not to be troubled at the sight of your barks and Gendarmes, they give you notice, likewise, not to be surprised when you will see faces painted red and black at Ochouegen.

I gave a Cayuga letters for you some eight or ten days ago. I do not know if he will have delivered them. I believe I advised you that Colonel Dongan had the Duke of York's placards of protection (*des sauvegardes*) affixed to the three upper Iroquois villages, and that he styled himself Lord of the Iroquois. A drunken man here tore these proclamations down and nothing remains but the post to which the Duke of York's arms were attached.

I gave La Grande Gueule your belt under hand, and remarked to him the things which you wish him to effect. He calls himself your best friend and you have done well to have attached to you this *hoc*, who has the strongest head and loudest voice among the Iroquois.

The over coats (*capots*) and shirts which you have been so good as to send to be used on occasions are a most efficacious means to gain over, or to preserve public opinion. An honorable peace will be more advantageous to Canada than a war very uncertain as to its success. I am of opinion, whatever Mess^{rs} the Merchants may say, that you do them a good turn by inducing the Iroquois to give you satisfaction, and that the war would be very prejudicial to them.

I am with all sort of respect and submission,

My Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE, Jesuit.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onnontagué, this 23th of August 1684.

My Lord—M. le Moine's arrival has much pleased our burgo-masters who have exhibited towards him many attentions, and have promised to terminate matters with you in the manner you

desire. The Onnontagués have called the Deputies of each Nation together as I have advised you. The Cayugas came here the first, with two young Tionnoutatés to restore them to you. We expect the Senecas, and as we were hoping that the Oneidas would arrive to-day, one Arnaud,¹ whom Father Bruyas is well acquainted with, came here on horseback from Mr. Dongan to tell the Iroquois that he did not wish them to talk with you without his permission, being complete master of their land and conduct towards you; that they belonged to the King of England and the Duke of York, and that their Council fires were lighted at Albany and that he absolutely forbade them talking with you.

Two words which we whispered in the ears of your pensioner, La Grande Gueule, caused us to see at once how unreasonable, in his opinion, was so strange a proceeding as that of Mr. Dongan, after having himself exhorted the Iroquois to give us satisfaction in order to avoid a disastrous war which would have very bad [consequences.] When M. le Moine and I shall have the honour to see you, we shall give you the particulars of these things, and how La Grande Gueule came to high words against this Messenger, exhorting all the warriors and chiefs not to listen to the proposals of a man who seemed to be drunk, so opposed to all reason was what he uttered.

We being two or three days' journey from here, the said Messenger produced three Belts of Wampum. The first and second are from the Mohawks and Oneidas, who have promised Mr. Dongan that they should not go to meet us; the third was for the Onnontagués to exhort them to give their wampum belt also, as assurance of the same thing. They answered by La Grande Gueule, that they esteemed themselves too highly honored by your having granted them the embassy of M. le Moine and by your having placed the affairs of the peace in their hands, to commit so cowardly an action and so grave a fault as that which he seemed

¹ Arnold Cornelis^{us} Viele, a citizen of Albany, who acted as Interpreter between the Whites and Indians. For his service in this capacity he had already obtained from the latter, 26th Sept. 1683, a tract of land called Wachkeerhohn, on the north bank of the Mohawk above Schenectady, the grant of which is in Alb. Deed Book C, 199.—Tr.

willing they should perpetrate. After many disputes, the Onnontagués councilled among themselves, and concluded to enquire of M. le Moine if he would not wait the permission which Mr. Dongan wished the Iroquois to have from him to talk with you, and if he would not tarry ten days more, and you remain at the Lake, to learn Mr. Dongan's final will. This is a piece of Iroquois cunning not to embroil themselves with Mr. Dongan, and to follow entirely what M. le Moine should say, whom they well knew would not wait so long, matters having advanced to the point at which they are, and knowing, moreover, that delay was directly contrary to your instructions. The Iroquis requested M. le Moine himself to communicate their opinion to the Cavalier, which he certainly did in an excellent manner, and which you will be glad to learn when he will give an account of his negotiation.

He has thought proper to send you one of his canoes at once to inform you hereof, and to assure you that as soon as the Onnontagué deputies shall have arrived here, he will endeavour to despatch them hence at the earliest moment to conduct them to you. If not he will leave with the Senecas who are here. Tegannehout acted his part very well and harangued strongly against Mr. Dongan's messenger and in favour of Onnontio. Good cheer and the way you regaled him was a strengthening medicine which sustained his voice when it might perhaps have failed in another who had not experienced proofs of your friendship such as you did him the honour to give him. He will return with M. le Moine.

The Cavalier says that before returning to his Master, he wishes to speak to the Senecas who are expected here. I caress somewhat Tegannehout in order that he may win those of his Nation over to his opinion and not to suffer them to yield to the solicitations of Sieur Arnaud to whom the Onnontagués have given two wretched belts to say to Mr. Dongan that they could not do other than what he himself had urged them to do; to wit, to settle matters peaceably with you, and to soothe his spirit if he were dissatisfied with them for not going to Albany whence they had returned very recently. A letter is sent you which he has given to M. le Moine.

Whatever Sieur Arnaud may say, we have not neglected to

send for the Oneida deputies whom we expect to-morrow. Monsieur le Moine will use the greatest possible diligence to return to you, inasmuch as this delay is not very agreeable to him.

I am always, my Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onontagué, 27 Sept. 1684.

My Lord,—I return here after having been delayed ten days in the Lake by very strong head winds. A day before the Iroquois deputies met here, the Senecas sent Belts to the Iroquois villages to declare to them that should you disembark in their country, they would attack you. Six or seven Mohegans (*Loups*) were preparing to go to the assistance of the Iroquois, as the Outaoutes were aiding the French. The Seneca scouts have been as far as Kaionhouagué, where you had concluded the peace, to be certain of the place at which your army had encamped. The Onnontagués believed for several days that they had killed me. Tegannehout's arrival in this country will have calmed the minds in communicating your peace to them. No news have as yet been received from the Seneca. Some say they will shortly come hither to confer on important matters. If any one come from the For there I shall inform you of whatever I will have learned.

Sieur Arnaud, Mr. Dongan's deputy, has not re-appeared here since my departure from Onnontaé, though he had assured me that he should return in ten days. 'Tis said that his delay is caused by not having found his master at Orange (Albany), and that he has gone to Manath to inform him of the proceedings of the Onnontagué and of your arrival at Gainhouagué, [Hungry Bay.]

I had the honour of writing to you from the Fort whence I sent you a wampum belt from the Tionnontatés. I gave Sieur Hannataksa the belt of Wampum and the red Calumet in your name, to whom I said that you would be ever obliged to him if he would turn his arms to the left of Fort St. Louis, where the Illinois are

mingled with the Oumiamis, so as to give no cause of complaint.

Uncertain as I was regarding matters on the side of the Senecas, and fearful that the Senecas would create confusion on arriving here, I made some presents in your name to some captains who could best curb their insolence, so as to prevent the brewing of the storm.

Your man of business, I mean La Grande Gueule, is not concerned at any thing; he is a venal being whom you do well to keep in pay. I assured him that you would send him the jerkin you promised. The Cayugas who are gone to war to the borders of Merinlande and Virginia have sent home some of their warriors to say that the English had killed three of their men, and that they having taken five Englishmen alive, had cut their throats after subjecting them to some bad treatment, and that they were still in the English country.

After having spoken to you of others, I must acquit myself of a part of my duty, by thanking you very humbly for all the kindnesses you have been pleased to shower on me. I should have wished you, in addition to the good health in which it pleased God to preserve you in the midst of an army weakened by diseases, greater satisfaction for the trouble you have taken for the public good. Individuals assuredly know that if you had not accepted peace, which is very favorable since no one has been killed on either side, the Colony would have been exposed to the mercy of the Iroquois who would pounce, in different directions, on defenceless settlements, the people of which they would carry off in order to pitilessly burn them. I pray God, who knows the sincerity of your intentions, to be your reward and to heap His blessings on you to the extent of the wishes of him who is entirely, my Lord

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

J. DE LAMBERVILLE.

I told Colin that you would remember him and his comrade.

The Tionnontatés have sent to thank the Onnontagués for having, by their obliging disposition, gained you over to treat for peace, and thus preserve the lives of many, and that they were attached to Onnonthio. Sieur la Grande [Gueule] has pronounced your panegyric here, and professes to keep the promise he made you, to cause

the articles of peace to be observed. Some furs are to be collected this fall. He is treating on this subject with Hannagoge and Ganakontié. There is no news yet from the Senecas.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Onnontagué, this 9th Octob. 1684.

My Lord,—The message you sent here by three canoemen from Montreal shows you to be in reality a man of your word. Sieur Grande Gueule has been informed by express, who is gone to find him at his fishery eight leagues from here, that you have written. I shall cause him when he returns particularly to recollect his promise to you to have satisfaction given you. I have spoken in his absence both privately and publicly, to influential persons and obtained promises from the chiefs and warriors that they would send two strings of wampum to the Senecas in three days to put them in mind of the word which the leader of those who pillaged the French canoes had himself brought here, from those of his own nation, that they had accepted all you had concluded at La Famine. I told them what you had concluded and had ordered me to acquaint them with. The report about the thousand Illinois is a mere rumor without any foundation, and M. duLut told me at Katarakoui, that he did not believe the truth of this news; besides there cannot be any apprehension that they could have dared to undertake any thing, having met neither Frenchmen nor Outaouas. All that they could make a demonstration against have more fuzileers than they.

A party of 40 warriors will leave here in six days to attack the Illinois whom they may find among the Chaouennons. I have presented the Captain a shirt in your name, to exhort the Senecas through whom he will pass, to keep their word with you. He has assured me that he will not lead his troop towards the quarter you forbid him. I notified him as well as the others that you had despatched a canoe to inform the Oumiamies and the Maskenses that you had included them in the peace, and that they could remain secure at the place where they had been before they were at war with the Iroquois. The Senecas shall be equally notified of this in a

few days. You may rest assured, my Lord, that I shall spare no pains to have that satisfaction given you which you expect from the Iroquois. The frenchmen who came here told me that whilst you were at La Famine a false alarm reached Montreal that the Iroquois were coming ; that there was nothing but horror, flight and weeping at Montreal. What would so many poor people have done in their settlements if merely six hundred Iroquois had made an irruption into the country in the condition in which it is. You form a better opinion than one hundred manufacturers of rhodomontades who were not acquainted with the Iroquois, and who reflect not that the country, such as it is, is not in a condition to defend itself. Had I the honor to converse with you longer than your little leisure allowed me, I should have convinced you that you could not have advanced to Paniaforontogouat [Irondequoit bay] without having been utterly defeated in the state your army was in—which was rather an hospital than a camp. To attack people within their entrenchments and fight banditti in the bush will require one thousand men more than you have. Then you can accomplish nothing without having a number of disciplined savages. I gave you already my thoughts, and believe I told you the truth, and that you deserved the title of “Liberator of the Country” by making peace at a conjuncture when you would have beheld the ruin of the country without preventing it. The Senecas had double pallisades stronger than the pickets of the fort and the first could not have been forced without great loss. Their plan was to keep only 300 men inside, and with 1200 others perpetually harass you. All the Iroquois were to collect together and fire only at the legs of your people to master them, and burn them at their leisure ; and after having cut them off by a hundred ambuscades among the foliage and grass, pursue you in your retreat even to Montreal to spread desolation throughout its vicinity also ; and they had prepared for that purpose a quantity of canoes of eighteen men each which they kept concealed. But let us all speak of this war to thank God that He has preserved our Governor in the midst of so much sickness, and that He had compassion on Canada from which He turned away the scourge of war which would have laid it entirely desolate.

The English of Merinlande who had killed three Iroquois, and

of whom the English Iroquois had killed five, are about to have difficulties with that belligerent nation which has already killed more than twenty-nine of their men, and has been threatened with war should it continue to insult them. We shall see what the English of that quarter will do.

Garakontie returned to day from Orange, where he told by a belt of Wampum how you had given peace to the public; also how Colonel Dongan had urged the Iroquois to secure it by the satisfaction which he advised them to give you. M. Dongan left Orange when those who brought the Duke of York's Safeguards came to this place; it is supposed that Arnaud's visit here to prevent the Iroquois going to see you and to get them to hold a Council at Orange, was an intrigue of the Orange merchants who feared that their trade would be diminished by a conference held with you with arms in your hands; for M. Dongan had probably departed from Orange when Arnaud left to come here. What the Iroquois know is, after having heard M. Dongan who exhorted them to an arrangement with you, it was in no wise probable that on the eve of a negotiation, he should have forbidden them to visit you without his permission.

A man named La Croix, in Indian Tegaiatannhara, who answered Garakontie on behalf of the Dutch, said that had you not made peace, knowing that the Safeguards of England were on the Iroquois, 800 Englishmen and 1200 Mohegans, (*Loups*) who are between Merinland and New York, entirely distinct from the Cannongageh-ronnons whom you have with you, were all ready to march at the first word to aid the Iroquois. This man La Croix passes with the Iroquois for a great liar; he, possibly may have advanced this of his own accord, as well as many other things he has stated, which M. Dongan perhaps would not approve, were he acquainted with them.

I thank you most humbly for having furnished an opportunity for the transportation to us of a part of our necessities. It is a continuance of your kindness towards us and towards me in particular, who am sincerely and with much respect, My Lord,

Your very humble & very obedient Servant,

DE LAMBERVILLE.

I shall give La Grande Gueule your jerkin as soon as he returns here. I had the honor to write to you by Colin ten days since.

FROM THE MINISTER TO M. BARILLON, FRENCH
AMBASSADOR AT LONDON

[Paris Doc. III.]

Versailles, 10 March, 1685.

Sir—The King has learned that the Governor of New York, instead of maintaining good correspondence with Sieur de la Barre, Governor of Canada, in conformity with the orders of the late King of England, has done what he could to prevent the Iroquois treating with him ; that he offered them troops to serve against the French, and that he caused standards (flags) to be planted in their villages, though these nations had been always subject to France since their country was discovered by the French, without the English objecting thereto.

His Majesty desires you to present his complaints to the King of England and to demand of him precise orders to oblige this Governor to confine himself within the limits of his government, and to observe different conduct towards Sieur Denonville, who is selected by His Majesty to succeed the said Sieur de la Barre.

VI.

GOV. DONGAN'S REPORT

ON THE

Province of New-York.

1687.

GOV. DONGAN'S REPORT

TO THE COMMITTEE OF TRADE ON THE PROVINCE OF NEW-YORK, DATED
22D FEBRUARY, 1687.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

My Lords—I have received the heads of inquiry your Lo^{ps} sent to mee and indeed I have been as industrious as possibly I could to make myself capable of giving you satisfaction. And wherein I am short of answering your Lo^{ps} expectation I question not but you'll pardon it when you consider that to give a distinct answer to several of your queries must require a longer time than I have yet had since their arrival here. However to such of them as I am at present capable to make an answer, I herein give you Lo^{ps} I hope the satisfaction required which are as follow

In answer to the first of your Lo^{ps} Querys

Courts of Justice. The Courts of Justice are most established by Act of Assembly and they are

1. The Court of Chancery consisting of the Governor and Council in the Supreme court of this province to which appeals may be brought from any other court

2. The Assembly finding the inconvenience of bringing of y^e peace, Sheriffs, Constables @ other p^rsons concerned from the remote parts of this government to New York did instead of the Court of Assizes which was yearly held for the whole Government of this province erect a Court of Oyer and Terminer to be held once every year within each County for the determining of such matters as should arise within them respectively, the members of which Court were appointed to be one of the two judges of this province assisted by three justices of the peace of that county wherein such court is held. Which Court of Oyer & Terminer has likewise power to hear appeals from any inferior court

3. There is likewise in New York @ Albany a Court of Mayor @ Aldermen held once in every fortnight from whence their can be noe appeal unless the cause of action bee above the value of Twenty Pounds, who have likewise priviledges to make such by-laws for y^e regulation of their own affairs as they think fitt, soe as the same be approved of by y^e Gov^r @ Council.

Their Mayor, Recorders, town-clerks @ Sheriffs are appointed by the Governor

4. There is likewise in every County twice in every year (except in new York where its four times @ in Albany where its thrice) Courts of Sessions held by the Justices of the Peace for the resp[']ive countys as in Engld.

5. In every Town wt^a y^e Government there are 3 Commissioners appointed to hear and determine all matters of difference not exceeding the value of five pounds which shall happen within the respective towns.

6. Besides these, my Lords, I finding that many great inconveniences daily hapned in the managem^t of his Ma^{ty} particular concerns within this province relating to his Lands, Rents, Rights, Profits @ Revenues by reason of the great distance betwixt the Cursory settled Courts @ of the long delay which thereon consequently ensued besides the great hazard of venturing the matter on country Jurors who over @ above that they are generally ignorant enough @ for the most part linked together by affinity are too much swayed by their particular humors @ interests, I thought fit in Feb. last by @ with y^e advice @ consent of y^e Council to settle and establish a Court which we call the court of Judicature [Exchequer] to bee held before y^e Gov^r @ Council for the time being or before such @ soe many as the Gov^r should for that purpose authorize, cômmissionat @ appoint on the first Monday in every month at New York, which Court hath full power and authority to hear, try @ determine suits matters @ variances arising betwixt his Ma^{ty} @ y^e Inhabitants of the said Province concerning the said lands, rents, rights, profits @ revenues

In answer to the Second.

Laws in
Force.

The Laws in force are y^e Laws called his Royal Highnesses Laws and the acts of the General Assembly the

most of which I presume y^r Lo^{ps} have seen @ the rest I now send over by mr Sprag to whom I refer your Lo^{ps} in this point

In answer to the Third

In this Govern^{mt} there are about four thousand foot @ three hundred horse besides one company of Dragoons of which I shall bee able to give a more particular account when the Muster-master shall make his return.

In answer to the Fourth

At New York there is a fortification of four bastions built formerly against the Indians of dry stone @ earth with sods as a breast-work well @ pleasantly situated for the defence of the Harbor on a point made by Hudsons River on the one side and by the sound on the other, It has Thirty-nine Gunns, two Mortar pieces, thirty Barils of Powder five hundred ball some Bombshells @ Granados small arms for three hundred men, one Flanker, the face of the North Bastion, and three points of Bastions @ a Courlin has been done @ are rebuilt by mee with Lime @ Mortar @ all the rest of the Fort pinnd @ rough-cast with lime since my coming here.

And the most of the Guns I found dismounted @ some of them yet continue to bee soe which I hope to have mounted soe soon as the mills can sawe

I am forced to renew all the Batterys with three-inch Plank @ have spoke for new planks for that purpose

And the breast-work upon the wall is so moultered away that its likewise needful to make a reparation thereof. The Officers quarters had formerly a flat roof which I finding to be chargeable to maintain @ that it could not bee kept high, [qu. dry?] have caused a new roof to bee upon it, as alsoe finding water to run through the arch of the Gate I have been forc't to put a Roof over it, I am forc't every day by reason of the roteness of the Timber @ Boards to bee making reparations in the Soldiers quarters or my own.

The ground that the Fort stands upon @ that belongs to it contains in quantity about two acres or thereabouts about which I have instead of Palisadoes put a fence of Palls which is more lasting

Thò this Fortification bee inconsiderable, yet I could wish the

King had severall of them in these parts, the people growing every day more numerous @ they generally of a turbulent disposition

In this Country there is a woman yet alive from whose Loyns there are upwards of three hundred @ sixty persons now living

The men that are here have generally lusty strong bodies

At Albany there is a Fort made of pine trees fifteen foot high @ foot over with Batterys and conveniences made for men to walk about, where are nine guns, small arms for forty men four Barils of powder with great and small Shott in proportion, The Timber @ Boards being rotten were renewed this year, In my opinion it were better that fort were built up of Stone @ Lime which will not be double the charge of this years repair which yet will not last above 6 or 7 years before it will require the like again whereas on the contrary were it built of Lime & Stone it may bee far more easily maintained, And truly its very necessary to have a Fort there, it being a frontier place both to the Indians @ ffrench

Pemaquid
Fort and
Connecticut.

At Pemaquid there is another Fort built after the same manner as I am informed a particular description whereof I am not capable of giving having never been there however its a great charge to this Governmt without being any thing of advantage to it, having officers there with twenty men always in pay, And which makes it yet more chargeable, I am forced to send from time to time provisions @ stores thither altho' its near four hundred miles from this place If his Maty were pleased that I might draw of the men and arms from that place with the guns being of light carriage @ that I might have leave to^t put them further into the country I would place them where I will give your Lo^hp an acct hereafter

And then if his Maty were further pleased to annex that place to Boston, being very convenient for them in regard to its vicinity affording great store of Fishery @ Islands fit for that purpose lying all along to the eastward of them—And in lieu of that to add to this Government Connecticut @ Rhode Island, Connecticut being so conveniently situate in its adjacing to us and soe inconvenient for the people of Boston by reason of its being up-

wards of two hundred miles distance from thence, Besides Connecticut as it now is takes away from us almost all the land of value that lies adjoyneing to Hudsons River @ the best part of the river itself, Besides as wee found by experience if that place bee not annexed to that Government it will bee impossible to make any thing considerable of his Matys customs @ revenues in Long Island they carry away with^t entering all our oyles which is the greatest part of what wee have to make returns of from this place : And from Albany and that way up the river—our Beaver & Peltry.

This Government too has an undoubted right to it by charter which his late Maty of Blessed Memory granted to our present King, and indeed if the form of the Government bee altered these people will rather choose to come under this than that Govern^t of Boston as yr Lo^{'s} will p[']ceive by their present Gov^rs lres directed to me

East and
West Jersey.

And as for East Jersey it being situate on the other side of Hudsons river @ between us where the river disembogues itself into the sea paying noe custom @ having likewise the advantage of having better land @ most of the settlers there out of this Govern^t. Wee are like to bee deserted by a great many of our merchants whoe intend to settle there if not annexed to this Government—

Last year two or three ships came in there with goods @ I am sure that that Country cannot, noe not with the help of West Jersey consume one thousand £b in goods in two years soe that the rest of their goods must have been run into this Government without paying his Matys customs and indeed theres noe possibility of preventing it.

And as for Beaver @ Peltry its impossible to hinder its being carried thither, the Indians value not the length of their journey soe as they can come to a good market, which those people can better afford them than wee they paying noe custom or excise inwards or outwards.

An other inconveniency by the Governments remaining as it does is that privateers and others can come within Sandy Hook and take what Provisions @ goods they please from that side.

Alsoe very often shippes bound to this place break bulk there @ run their goods into that Colony with intent afterwards to import the same privately @ at more leisure into this Province notwithstanding their oath, they salving themselves with this evasion that that place is not in this Govern^t, To day an Interloper landed five tun @ one half of teeth there, to prevent all which inconveniences @ for the securing of this place from enemys, I desire to have an order to make up a small Fort with twelve guns upon Sandy-Hook the channell there being soe near the shore that noe vessel can goe in nor out but shee must come soe neare the Point that from on board one might toss a buiscuit cake on shore

If the Proprietors would rightly consider it they would find it their own interest that that place should bee annexed to this Government for they are at a greater charge for maintaining the present Govern^t than the whole profits of the Province (which is by quit rents) will amount unto; for they are at the whole charge the Country allowing nothing towards its support soe that had they not the charge of the Govern^t, they might put that money into their own pockets

And indeed to make Amboy a port will be no less inconvenient for the reasons afore mentioned neighboring colonys being not come to that P^rfection but that one fort may sufficiently serve us all

Dutys to
paid at
Sandy
Hook.

We in this Government look upon that bay that runs into the Sea at Sandy Hook to be Hudsons River therefore there being a clause in my instructions directing mee that I cause all vessels that come into Hudson's River to enter at New York I desire to know whether his Maty intends thereby those vessels that come within Sandy-Hook, the people of East-Jersey pretending a right to the river soe farr as their province extends which is eighteen miles up the river to the northward of this place

West Jersey remaining as it does will be no less inconvenient to this Govern^t for the same reasons as East Jersey, they both making but one neck of land @ that so near situate to us that its more for their convenience to have commerce here than any where else, @ under those circumstances that if there were a warr

either with Christians or Indians they would not be able to defend themselves without the assistance of this Govern^t.

To be short, there is an absolute necessity those provinces and that of Connecticut be annexed

The three lower Countys of Pennsylvania have been a dependency on this place @ a great many of the inhabitants persons that removed thither from this Govern^t and I doe not believe it was his Maty^s intention to annex it to Pennsylvania, nor to have it subject to the same laws it being the King's own land, the doing whereof by mr Pen there has been of great detriment to this place in hindring the Tobacco to come hither as formerly, for then there came two shippes for one that comes now ; Beaver @ Peltry taking up but small Stowage in shippes

And indeed it were in my opinion very necessary for the advantage of this place @ increase of his Maty^s revenues that it were soe ordered that the Tobacco of these countrys may be imported hither without paying there the duty of one penny p^r pound and then wee should not be at such streights for returns, their trade would much increase, and this place become a magazin for the Neighboring provinces, @ care taken that the Tobacco be duly returned to England whereas now a great part of it goes another way @ soe its very necessary that the Collector of this place should be Collector of that River for the enumerated commoditys, And wee will have such regard to the advantage of this port that we'el suffer noe fraud to be committed there nor noe Tobacco to be exported but what goes either directly for England or this place.

Besides wee find the contrary to be very inconvenient in this that whereas formerly the damnified Tobacco which came from thence not fit for England wee made up in rolls and sent y^e same up the River to the Indians who in Exchange gave in Beaver @ Peltry, for want whereof his Maty^s revenue here is much impaired inasmuch as the Indians are therefore forct either to Plant the tobacco themselves or to goe where they can be furnished with it @ there carry their beavor @ peltry (they being of that temper that they had rather want clothes than Tobacco) by which Meanes his Maty^s revenue sustains a double loss, one in the ten

per cent such tobacco pays custom up the river @ the other in the custom of such Beaver @ peltry as the same would produce

Further if Pennsylvania bee continued as by charter running five degrees to the westward it will take in the most of the five nations that lye to the westward of Albany @ the whole Beaver @ Peltry trade of that place the consequence whereof will be the depopulation of this Govern^t for the people must follow the trade. Those Indians and the people of this Govern^t have been in continued peace @ amity one with another these fifty years And those Indians about forty years agoe did annex their lands to this Govern^t @ have ever since constantly renewed the same with every Governor that has been here both in the time of the Dutch @ the English @ in particular to myself who have given them largely in consideration of their lands And I am certainly informed that they have declared they will go @ live on y^e other side of the lake than be under any other Govern^t on this than ours, Endeavors have been used (tho to noe purpose) to p'suade some of our Traders who speak the language to goe and live upon the Susquehanna river tho I cannot yet find out by whom this has been made.

The five Indian nations are the most warlike people in America, @ are a bulwark between us @ the French @ all other Indians they goe as far as the South Sea the North West passage @ Florida to warr. New England in their last warr with the Indians had been ruined had not Sr Edmund Andros sent some of those nations to their assistance, and indeed they are soe considerable that all the Indians in these parts of America are tributary to them. I suffer no Christians to converse with them any where but at Albany @ that not without my license

Since I came here the people of Boston have sent them presents in acknowledgement of their favor @ friendship. @ I was forc't to goe with my Lord Effingham to bury his hatchet and theirs which is their way of making a peace

Indian propo-
sal and
present.

I have sent herewith what the nations that conquered the Susquehannas desired of the King in my Lord Effingham's presence and I believe it to be of dangerous consequence if denied

This Governmt has always been and still is at a great charge to keep them peaceable @ annexed to this government which is of that moment that upon any occasion I can have three or four thousand of their men at a call.

I cannot believe that ever it was the King's intention to grant away soe considerable a part of this government which has been so long appropriated to it @ even the people think it as a part of themselves @ would be much troubled at a separation from soe good @ ancient neighbours that at first of their own free wills became soe and have ever since continued with such constancy to desire and maintain a mutual friendship and correspondence If therefore his Maty were pleased to have a line run from 41^d and 40 m in Delaware River to the Falls upon the Susquehanna and to let Mr. Pen keep all below that it would be sufficient for him the bounds below it being conjectured to contain more than all England besides the lower Countys which is near upon 100 miles from the Cape up the river; and in bredth more than 30 miles as is generally beleaved

To preserve the Beaver @ Peltry trade for this @ Albany and to be an encouragement to our Beaver hunters I desire I may have order to erect a Campayne Fort upon Delaware River in 41^d 40 m; another upon the Susquehanna where his Maty shall think fit Mr. Penns bounds shall terminate. And another at Oneigra near the great lake in the way where our people goe a Beaver hunting or trading or any where else where I shall think convenient it being very necessary for the support of Trade, maintaining a correspondence with the further Indians, @ in securing our right in the country the French making a pretence as far as the Bay of Mexico, for which they have no other argument than that they have had possession this twenty years by their fathers living so long among the Indians they have fathers still among the five nations aforementioned viz. the Maquaes, Sinicaes, Cayouges, Oneides, and Onondagues @ have converted many of them to the Christian Faith @ doe their utmost to draw them to Canada, to which place there are already 6 or 700 retired and more like to doe, to the great prejudice of this Governmt if nôt prevented. I have done my endeavours @ have gone so far in it that I have

Pensylvania a
for the Beaver
Trade.

Indians from
Canada. prevailed with the Indians to consent to come back from Canada on condition that I procure for them a piece of land called Serachtague lying upon Hudson's River about 40 miles above Albany @ there furnish them with priests

Thereupon and upon a petition of the people of Albany to mee setting forth the reasonableness and conveniency of granting to the Indians there requests I have procured the land for them, altho it has been formerly patented to people at Albany @ have promised the Indians that they shall have priests and that I will build them a church @ have assured the people of Albany that I would address to his Maty as to your Lo^{ps} that care may bee taken to send over by the first five or six it being a matter of great consequence.

These Indians have about 10 or 12 castles (as they term them) @ those at a great distance one from another, soe that there is an absolute necessity of having soe many priests, that there bee three always travelling from castle to castle, @ the rest to live with those that are Christians, By that means the French Priests will be obliged to retire to Canada, whereby the French will be divested of their pretence to y^e Country @ then wee shall enjoy that trade without any fear of being diverted,

I find a very small matter will serue the French for a pretence of right. About 30 years ago 6 or 700 of them taking advantage of the Indians being abroad soe farr as Cape Florida at warr came down @ burnt a castle of the Maquaes wherein there were none but old men women @ children which the rest of the Indians hearing pursued the French to a place called Sconectade about 20 miles above Albany where they had every man been cut off had not one Corlarr (a Dutchman so beloved of the Indians that in memory of him they call all Governors by that name) interposed

However from that time they have fancied to themselves that they have a right to the country so farr as that place

The great difference between us is about the Beaver trade and in truth they have the advantage of us in it @ that by noe other meanes than by their industry in making discoveries in the country before us •

Before my coming hither noe man of our Governm^t ever went

beyond the Sinicaes country, Last year some of our people went a trading among the farr Indians called the Ottowais inhabiting about three months journey to the West @ W. N. W. of Albany from whence they brought a good many Beavers. They found their people more inclined to trade with them than the French the French not being able to protect them from the arms of our Indians, with whom they have had a continued warr, soe that our Indians brought away this very last year, a great many prisoners,

Last week I sent for some of our Indians to New York where when they came I obtained a promise from them that some of themselves would goe along with such of our people as goe from Albany & Esopus to there far nations @ carry with them the captives they haue prisoners in order to the restoring them to their liberty @ bury their hatchetts with those of their enemys by which means a path may be opened for these farr Indians to come with safety to trade at Albany, and our people goe thither without any let or disturbance

I hear the French have built a Wooden Fort or two in the Way thither @ that there are two officers with men in them to obstruct our passage, I am sending a Scotch Gent called McGreger (that served formerly in France) along with our people, hee has orders not to disturb or meddle with the French and I hope they will not meddle with him, Ever since my coming hither it has been no small trouble to keep the Sinicaes from making warr upon the French, Monsieur De la Barr was very hot upon it @ brought a great many men to a place called Cadaraque lying on the lake with intent to fall on the Indians, who hearing of it came to me for leave to enter Canade with fire @ sword, which I refused to permit but immediately I wro^t to La Barr @ let him know that those Indians were his Mat^{ys} of Great Britain's subjects @ that he must not molest them @ that if the Indians had done the Governm^t of Canada any injury, upon his making the same appear, I would cause that hee should have satisfaction as also I sent the arms of his Royal Highness now his Majesty to bee put up in each castle as far as Oneigra which was accordingly

done, @ thereupon De la Barr retired without doing any thing after having been at a vast expense and all to no purpose

The new Governor Mons^r de Nonville has written mee that hee desires to have a very good correspondence with this Govern^t @ I hope hee will bee as good as his word, notwithstanding he put a great deal of provisions into @ keeps four or five hundred men in Cadaraque

Last spring he sent one De la Croa with fifty soldiers @ one hundred young men of Canada to the North West passage where as I am certainly informed from Canada they have taken three forts. About two years since there came a thousand men from France to Canada with the new Gov^r @ three hundred came the year after. But the most part of them as I hear are since dead the country proving too cold for them. Wee need not feare them soe long as the Indians continue to bee our friends @ the less if wee can prevail with the Indians that are Christians to come from them to us, they being generally the youngest @ rustiest men.

The number of French in Canada Last year there was a list brought into the new Gov^r of 17000 French Inhabitants in Canada, men women @ children of which 3000 fit to bear arms

It will be very necessary for us to encourage our young men to goe a Beaver Hunting as the French doe

I send a Map by Mr Spragg whereby your Lo^{ps} may see the severall Govern^{ts} &c how they lye where the Beaver hunting is @ where it will bee necessary to erect our Country Forts for the securing of beaver trade @ keeping the Indians in community with us

Alsoe it points out where theres a great river discovered by one Lassal a Frenchman from Canada who thereupon went into France @ and as its reported brought two or three vessels with people to settle there which (if true) will prove not only very inconvenient to us but to the Spanish alsoe (the river running all along from our lakes by the back of Virginia @ Carolina into the Bay Mexico) @ its beleaved Nova Mexico can not bee far from the mountains adjoining to it that place being in 36d North Latitude if your Lo^{ps} thought it fit I could send a sloop or two from this place to discover that river

In answer to the Fifth

The
standing
of our
neighbors

This query is for the most part answered in the precedent what is not answered followeth here

Connecticut according to the nearest conjecture I can make may have about 3000 men able to bear arms

In it there are but few Indians having been generally destroyed or removed into this government in the time of the last wars

They have but a small trade, what they have is to the West-Indies Boston and this place.

They have not above a Ketch or two and about 6 or 7 sloops belonging to the place.

The country is very good accommodated with several good harbors @ two considerable rivers New London is @ very good harbor for shipping where they may ride secure from all winds As for their timber its the same as ours here

To the Sixth

The Correspondence wee hold with our neighbors is very amicable @ good wee on all occasions doing to each other all the offices of Friendship @ Service wee can : which has soe much endeared them to us that they desire nothing more than to be a part of this Govern^t those of Connecticut choosing farr rather to come under this Govern^t than that of Boston for the reasons afore mentioned and the Jerseys wishing the like as having once been a part of us. And seeing that in this separation they are not soe easy nor safe, as they might expect to bee, were they reunited to us

To the Seventh

What
armes &c

It is answered in the answer to the Fourth

To the Eighth

What are
the bound-
aries longi-
tude &
latitude
&c

For the longitude latitude and contents of this Govern^t I refer yo^r Lo^ps to the afore-mentioned Map wherein you will see in what narrow bounds we are cooped up

The land of this Government is generally barren rocky land except the land wee have right to on the Susquehanna river @ up into the country amongst our Indians where there are great quantities very good

What was good @ did lye convenient and near the sea for y^e

most part is taken from us by Connecticut East and West Jersey

What is left is pretty well settled, as your Lop^s will perceive by the list of patents Mr. Sprag has with him

When I came to the Government, I found very little quit-rent reserved to his Maty however I have got the people with their own consent to the payment of a certainty as yo^r Lop^s may perceive by the afore mentioned list of patents. Such as pay noe quit-rents I bring into the aforementioned court for his Maty^s rents @ revenues where in a short time they are easily induced to doe it, @ I hope his Maty will have considerable revenue by it

To the Ninth

What are
the princ-
pal towns
&c.

The principal towns within the Govern^t are New York Albany @ Kingston at Esopus All the rest are country villages the buildings in New-York @ Albany are generally of stone @ brick. In the country the houses are mostly new built, having two or three rooms on a floor The Dutch are great improvers of land New York @ Albany live wholly upon trade with the Indians England and the West Indies. The returns for England are generally Beaver Peltry Oile @ Tobacco when we can have it. To the West Indies we send Flower, Bread Pease pork @ sometimes horses; the return from thence for the most part is rumm which pays the King a considerable excise @ some molasses which serves the people to make drink @ pays noe custom

Ships &
vessels.

There are about nine of ten three mast vessels of about 80 or 100 tons burthen two or three ketches @ Barks of about 40 Tun : and about twenty sloops of about twenty or five @ twenty Tunn belonging to the Govern^t All of which trade for England Holland @ the West Indies except six or seven sloops that use the river trade to Albany @ that way

How many
parishes
Precints &c

The Tenth is answered in the answers to the four @ twentieth

To the Eleventh

What rivers
narbors or
roads &c

A thousand ships may ride here safe from winds @ weather, I send herewith to your Lod^p a Map from the coming in of Sandy Hook to the northermost end of this Island

wherein the Soundings are markt by which youil perceive the coming in @ conveniency of this harbor

Quit along the north side of Long-Island are very good harbors @ roads but on the south side none at all

To the Twelfth

What commodity &c

What account I can at present give of this is for the most part contained in my answer to the fourth of your Lo^{ps} Queries

To the Thirteenth

What timber mast & other materials &c

Both our neighbors and wee have conveniency sufficient either for transporting timber or building And for tryal if your Lod^p think fit, I will send over boards of what dimensions you please the three inch planks I have for the Batteries cost me fifteen shillings the hundred foot

To the Fourteenth

Whether Salt Petre &c

I can give y^e Lo^s noe account at present but by the next I may. I will make a diligent enquiry about it @ when I have got any thing worthy of your Lo^{ps} knowledge I will acquaint you with it

To the Fifteenth

What number of inhabitants

Concerning the number of the Inhabitants merchant English @ Forreigners, Servants Slaves @ how many able to bear arms it is not possible to give an exact account but in order to my being certainly informed I have issued forth several warrants to the Sheriffs within this goverment requiring them to make an inquiry thereof @ to return the same to mee on which returns I shall not fail to give your Lod^{ps} the account required

To the Sixteenth

What number of English Scotch Irish or Forreigners have come to inhabit &c

I believe for these 7 years last past, there has not come over into this province twenty English Scotch or Irish familys. But on the contrary on Long Island the people encrease soe fast that they complain for want of land @ many remove from thence into the neighboring province. But of French there have since my coming here several familys come both from St. Christophers & England @ a great many more are expected as alsoe from Holland are come several Dutch familys which is another great argument of the necessity of adding to

this Govern^t the neighbouring English Colonys, that a more equal ballance may bee kept here between his Mat^ys naturall born subjects and foreigners which latter are the most prevailing part of this Government

I send herewith a petition of the new come naturalized French

For Answer to the Seventeenth & Eighteenth

17 & 18 What
number of
Marriages
Christenings
&c What num-
ber of people
dyed &c

I must refer your Lo^ps to my next by which time I doubt not but to be able to give y^e desired account having to that end issued forth the like warrant to the Sheriff as aforesaid

To the Nineteenth

What number
of Ships trade
&c

As concerning y^e vessels belonging to this place it is already answered in the answer to y^r Lo^ps ninth Querie @ for others they are but few which are either from England New England or the West Indies

To the Twentieth

What Obstruc-
tions &c

What obstructions do you find to the improvement of trade &c

Ans. a great obstruction to our trade is the hindring the importing Tobacco from the three lower Countys in Delaware as I have already given your Lo^ps an account in answer to the fifth of your queries

It is likewise a great hindrance to our trade here @ an inconveniency to the ships that come out of England and the fishery that his Mat^y keeps not an officer at Newfoundland for formerly there went every year Sloops with provisions thither @ gave the provisions in exchange for their fish who again sold them to the Shippes for Bills of Exchange to England which made good returns from this place procuring back from England English goods which paid his Mat^y custom there

For the regulation of our trade we have made several rules among ourselves, the chief of which is that noe goods of the product of Europe or West Indies bee imported into this province unless it were directly from England or such part of the West Indies where such commoditys were produced, without paying as a custom to his Mat^y 10 pr cent

To the one and Twentieth

What advantages or improvements may be gained to your trade

This querie is sufficiently answered in the foregoing answers

To the two and Twentieth concerning the Revenue

What rates and duties &c

I shall give your Lop^s as exact an answer to this querie as its possible for me, and wherein I am deficient I shall acquaint your Lop^s with the true causes of it

The Revenue except that of the Quit-Rents has been settled upon his Maty then his Royal Highness @ his heirs by act of Assembly payable in manner following viz^t

For every Gallon of Rum Brandy @ distilled liquors to bee imported into the province @ its dependencys fou pence currant money of the province

For every pipe of Madera, Fyal St George Canary Malaga Sherry @ all sweet wines the summ of forty shillings currant money aforesaid

Upon all other merchandizes imported into the province @ dependencys the summ of forty shillings currant money aforesaid for every hundred pounds valued at the prime cost except those hereafter specified viz^t

Salt, Brick, Pan-tyles, Coals, Fish, Sugar Molasses, Cotton-wool Ginger, Logwood, brasalette, ffustyk west-India hydes, Tobacco bullion @ Plate

Upon all merchandize commonly called Indian Goods as Duffels, Strouds, Blanketts, plains, half-thicks, Woolen Stokins, White Ozenbriggs, kettles, hatchets, hoes, Red Lead, vermilion, Cotton, Red Kersey, Knives, Indian Haberdashery @ other Indian goods the summ of ten pounds currant money aforesaid for every hundred pounds value prime cost carried up Hudsons river in any vessel sloops boats or canoes or any other way

Upon every baril of powder twelve shillings

Upon every lb. weight of lead six shillings

For every Gun or Gun-Baril with a lock six shillings

For every Gallⁿ. of Rum, Brandy or distilld Liquors that shall bee carried up Hudsons river aforesaid four pence currant money aforesaid

And likewise by the said act is settled upon his Maty, his heirs

@ successors an excise upon all liquors (beer and cyder excepted) retailed under five gallons the sum of twelve pence currant money, aforesaid within y^e city @ county of New York per gallon as alsoe the excise of twelve pence currant money aforesaid upon each gallon of liquor carried up Hudsons river. And also an excise of twelve pence on liquors retailed throughout the whole province @ Dependencies (beer and cyder only excepted)

As alsoe the custom @ duty upon every beaver skin commonly called a whole Beaver, nine pence

And that all other furs @ peltry bee valued accordingly that is for two half beavers nine pence for four lapps nine pence three drillings one shilling sixpence ten ratoons ninepence four foxes ninepence, four fishers ninepence, five cattis ninepence, four @ twenty mees-cattis ninepence, ten mallers nine pence, twenty-four pounds of Moose @ Deer Skin ninepence. And all other Peltry to be valued equivalent to the whole beaver exported out of this Province (bull @ cowhides excepted)

And alsoe that all Indian traders throughout the whole province @ dependencies doe pay for the value of each hundred pounds prime cost they traffick with the Indians for, ten pounds money aforesaid

And for all Beer @ Sider retailed throughout the Province @ dependencies six shillings per baril, and for each baril of beer or sider that is sold to the Indians six shillings as if retailed

Quit Rents As for the Quit Rents at my arrival they were very inconsiderable most made by Sr Edmond Andros, the greatest part whereof in Delaware River the most part of the patents granted by my predecessors were without any reservation of any Quit-Rents or acknowledgment to his Ma^{ty} or very inconsiderable such as several of Sr Edmond Andros's grants to great townships reserving the Quit-rent of our Land only @ were but confirmations of former grants @ Indian purchases, These people have renewed their Patents under a greater Quit-Rent as will appear by the list sent herewith most of these patents granted by mee were confirmations alsoe

The methods that I took for the obliging them to this was finding several tracts of land in their townships not purchased of the

Indians and soe at his Maty^s disposal. They were willing rather to submit to a greater Quit Rent than have that unpurchased land disposed of to others than themselves

The persons that have had the collection receipt @ management of his Maty^s revenue for these three years past @ upwards are Mr Lucas Santen by commission from his Maty then his Royal Highness, Collector @ Receiver. John Smith one that he brought out of England was his deputy book-keeper @ surveyor for about three years @ one John Harlow a servant of his, waiter @ searcher
Santon

I gave order to Mr Santon that for the good management of this small revenue to y^e best advantage hee should not make any journey into the country on pretence of the King's business whereby to put him to charge, but that when any thing occurred hee should acquaint mee with it that I might order the sheriffs or Jutices of the Peace of the Place to take care of it. And alsoe went up to Albany myself on purpose to settle his Maty^s business there where I made one Robert Livingstone Collector @ Receiver, with order to acc^t wth @ pay into Mr Santer w^t money hee sho^d receive for which he was to have 1^s per Pound of all such moneys as should pass through his hands, @ alsoe made him Clerk of the Town that both places together might afford him a competent maintenance

At Esopus one Thomas Garton was by Mr Santon made collector @ receiver who as I find by Mr Santons account had not accounted with him for these three years past. Upon wch I was forct to send an order of Council for his coming hither with his accts who when hee came gave in a scrole of paper containing a confused acct of about £200. pretending that his accts together with a great deal of corn @ Peltry by him collected @ received for his Maty^s customs excise @ Quit-Rents were burnt in his house so that all the council @ I could get from him for three years @ on half past was a bond of £200.

Since that I have set the Excise of that country alone to Mr Pawling sheriff for £110.

As for the county of Richmond I have noe acct thereof, as your Lop^s will see by the audit.

And for the county of West Chester one Collins is Collector @

Receiver there, whoe (as your Lop^s may likewise see by the audit) has not given any account—only this Mr Santen tells me that in Sept^r last hee took two bonds for money payable in March next which I look upon to bee nothing, @ all the Revenue of that County lost the man having hardly bread to put in his mouth

The first year there was £52. offered for the Excise of Long Island, but I thought it unreasonable it being the best peopled place in this Govern^t @ wherein theres great consumption of Rumm @ and therefore I gave commission to Mr Nicolls @ Mr Vaughton to gather it with whom I made this agreement that out of it they should have forty pounds, @ that they should account with Mr Santon for the remainder.

Since that for these two years past one Henry Fillkin has been Collector @ for his pains has a salary of £30 per ann. What returns he makes I referr to the audit most part of the people of that Island especially towards the East end are of the same stamp with those of New-England, refractory @ very loath to have any commerce with this place to the great detrm^t of his Maty^s revenue @ ruin of our merchants. To prevent which the aforementioned act of Assembly imposing 10 pr cent upon all such goods as should be imported from any colony where such goods were not produced passed, which was intended chiefly to hinder their carrying their oyle to Boston @ bringing goods from thence into this Govern^t

They thought it a hardship to be obliged as formerly to come to this citty to enter @ clear @ on their application were allowed to have a port where I made Mr Arnold Collector @ Receiver, with order to be accomptable to Mr Santen—What returns he has given I likewise referr to the audit

I allowed him for 3 years @ half past but £52 with which hee was well satisfied having had some Pquisits by Entrys @ clearing there Notwithstanding the desire of theirs was readily granted they refused to take our merchants money or goods @ carried away their Oyle private to Boston @ brought back goods from thence as formerly. Therefore with the advice of the Council I made an order that all people before they goe there shall enter @ clear here and also I have bought a Bark that cruseth there with

a master, two seamen a sergeant @ six soldiers from the Garrison for which the soldiers are allowed no more than their pay except a little provision more than their former allowance, the master @ two seamen I have listed in the Company alsoe @ allow them something more than soldiers pay

As for the Dukes county @ county of Cornwall I refer to ye audit. What acct Mr Santen gives @ Judge Palmer whom I sent thither last spring @ has made his returns to Mr Santen among which theres an account of the seizure of wines and oyl made in the county of Cornwall

The first year I left every thing to the care of Mr Santon @ what officers hee thought fit to put in, but afterwards finding things ill managed I spake to Mr Santon several times, advising him as a friend to look better to the trust reposed in him

What returns hee has made mee for my kindness I will pass by @ say noe more of them than I am obliged to doe for my own vindication having nothing of ill will against him

After the expiration of the year I desired him to bring in his accounts that they might bee audited which hee promised me from time to time but in such manner as was not fit for him for always when I spoke to him of moneys @ accompt he flew into a passion

Upon which I ordered him that since hee had no better government of himself he should refrain from coming into my company @ after I frequently sent to him by the Secy for his accompts who likewise met with the same dilatory answers. Upon which I had him brought before the council 3 or 4 times where he was often ordered to bring in his accts but all to noe purpose for upwards of a year together as yr Lop^s may see by the time of the audit @ by the several orders of council herewith sent

At last when his accts came I shewed them to the council who were mightily surprised that for eighteen @ upwards the Revenue should amount but to £3000 @ odd pounds upon which I had them audited and thereby it was found that a great many frauds had been done to the King as your Lop^s may see by the said audit @ the charge brought in @ proved against Mr Santon

Then I desired him to put John Smith from the office of surveyor

and out of the custom house having the charity for mr Santon to believe that that man has cheated him as well as the King (I having had while in England this ill character of him from S^r Benja Bathurst that for his misbehavior he had been turned out of a good employment) But hee never wo^d comply with it notwithstanding several orders of councill to that affect until I put in on Thomas Coker to bee surveyor, upon which Smith being concerned at losing his surveyors place, grew very insolent and put Mr Santon upon worse measures as is believed, for which @ other misdemeanors as y^r Lop^s may pceave by the Minutes of Council sent over by Mr Sprag he was turned wholly out of the Custom House

In Hatlow (Serv^t to Mr Santon) that was waiter and searcher he sent into England as I am informed to the commissioners of thee custom house for a commission to be collector for the enumerated comoditys here, @ would force so much for his going @ coming as y^r Lop^s may see charged in his acct brought in to the audit @ likewise has brought in a note of his for four and twenty pounds odd money for going to the east end of Long Island in which he did not spend fourteen days time

The Auditor finding noe cheque upon the collector his book-keeper being Surveyor called upon this Hatlow for his warrants who answered that hee had none or that if ever hee had any hee had left them in England

Upon which I put in one Larken in his stead who upon an order in Council set up in the Custom House commanding noe goods to goe off without a warrant refusing to lett some goods bee exported on the verbal order of Mr Santon only was by him turned out of that place as your Lop^s will see by the aforementioned charge @ the proofs thereto

After the audit of his first accts the others were demanded and with the same difficulty as the former obtained as y^r Lop^s may perceive by the said minutes of Council particularly the order for payment every Saturday which was occasioned thus The Council considering how dilatory Mr Santon was @ with what difficulty he would be brought to account being satisfied that Mr Santon was then behindhand in his paym^{ts} @ that in process of time he

might bee yet more soe for the preventing of further embezzlement of his Matys revenue they ordered him that every Saturday hee should acct with @ pay into mee what he had received the preceeding week which was a method taken in the time of Sr Edmond Andros with Capt Dyer the then Collector upon the like occasion tho' this had not the like effect thro Mr Santens disobedience, for as hee did with all other orders hee did with this hee took noe notice of it

As alsoe there were several orders of Council requiring him to have all his accts from the 25th of March to the 6th of October ready for Mr Sprag to carry over audited with him who had agreed for his passage in a ship @ kept her here on that purpose these two months past. But with all this he made noe compliyanee pretending that by a letter from my Lord Treasurer hee was satisfied his accomps were not to be audited here that hee was only obliged to leave a duplicate with mee upon which the Council upon sight of the letter agreed that it was reasonable for him to send his accompts home but that nevertheless it was my duty to have them audited according to former instruction @ soe to continue to doe until I should have orders to the contrary from Mr Blathwayt to whom my Lord Treasurer in his letter refers it being otherwise impossible for me to answer this query

Seeing soe many abuses done to his Maty @ finding fair means to be wholly ineffectual to the making Mr Santen discharge his duty @ hee continuing still refractory @ disobedient to the severall orders of Council to him directed, the charge which yr Lop^s have herewith was drawn up against him to which hee answered in such manner as your Lop^s will see on perusal of the copy thereof herewith sent. Upon hearing of which charge and answer @ yr proofs thereto herewith likewise sent, the council made their report to mee under their hands, in manner as your Lop^s sees by the copy thereof which you have likewise herewith wherein altho' they positively say that hee has been an unfaithful serv^t to his Maty in the management of his Revenue, yet I sent for him @ advised him to give in security for the ballance of the acct that by the audit he was found behind hand. And for his better carriage for the future which if hee did I promised to pass

by all former faults @ make noe complaint against him. I not only told him this myself but from time to time sent messages to him to this effect sometimes by such of the council as were his particular friends sometimes by the ministers @ often by the Secretary but all to noe purpose hee still continued obstinate

And what returns hee made mee to these several instances of my kindness I shall not now trouble your Lop^s with

Nevertheless I forbare doing any thing further against him till the expiration of the second audit proposing that then when I could know the whole amount of his debt I would at once doe my best to secure the Kings concerns from sustaining any loss by him

At last hee brought in a book without being signed and said he could not lieve them neither, they being to bee sent over to Mr Blathwayt Whereupon we were forct to give him 3 weeks longer to get them copied @ then with great adoe he signed them @ brought in with them an acct called a general acct, an acct so extravagant that your Lop^s have hardly seen thee like

Then I pressing the auditors to make an end they desired that they might have his papers to compare with those books @ accomps he had delivered in, which by order of council hee was required to deliver to them. But hee refusing as appears by the testimony of 3 of the auditors herewith sent, It was ordered that his said papers should bee seized @ he suspended from the s^d office of collector @ receiver till his Maty^s pleasure should be known thereon @ hee taken into the Sheriffs custody and there remain till hee should give in such security as in the said orders is expressed as relation to the said orders had, may more at large appear

Upon search of the Pap's relating to his Maty^s revenue I found a charge drawn against myself with letters to his Maty Lord T^rsear Lord Chancellor @ several other gentlemen stuff with complaints against me and other p'sons which are wholly false

Indeed its true the poor gentleman since his coming here has been troubled with 3 or 4 hypocondriack fitts, hee was in one of them when his Maty^s nomination of the Council came over upon which they all thought it not convenient to have him sworn at

least at that time as your Lo^{ps} will see by the minutes of council

And my Lords to bee short I must say this of him hee is a man wholly unfit for business especially this wherein hee has noe more skill than a child, Soe that for the executing of it hee must have his whole dependance on another. I am sure if I had not taken more care of the Revenue than hee did since I found his failure it had been more embezled than it is for though hee received the money I was obliged to continual watching to guard against his carelessness @ neglects

And truly what hee takes very ill what there is neither president nor establishment for

In his commission hee has allowed him £200 p^r annum the same allowance that Dyer had in the time of S^r Edmond Andros of which £100 was for the Surveyor Comptroller @ Waiter therefore I finding no new establishment allow him no more than Dyer had for him @ his officers Salary it being the sentiment of the Council that I could not alter the former practice with which they were well acquainted But he gives himself a far larger allowance hee will have it that his salary is sterling; @ to make it so of this country money he charges three @ thirty P^r cent advance @ one hundred pound more for his two under officers, Besides this Mr Smith being his Deputy-Surveyor @ Book-keeper, hee would have allowance to him of £50 p^r ann as his deputy £40 P^r ann as his accomptant £30 P^r ann for his transcribing his books £20 P^r annum P^r his diet besides his salary for Surveyor, For John Harlow hee would have allowed £30 P^r ann as waiter, £48 P^r ann as being employed by him in the Kings service where or how noe man Knows £20 p^r ann for his Diet and £162 and two voyages made into England with despatches for his Maty all this @ a great deal more such for his officers in the country, @ the like your Lo^{ps} will see in his last general acc^t a copy whereof is herewith sent,

Notwithstanding hee charges the King soe largely for his officers salaries, to some of them hee has paid nothing at all inso-much as they are making very great clainor for their money, @ not getting it from him expect it from the King

Of his own head hee bought a little rotten tool of a sloop on pretence for his Maty^s service, which as your Lop^s may see by their audit, has stood the King in near £700 @ now cannot be sold for thirty soe must either bee laid up or burnt

In his instructions @ by several orders from me @ the council he was expressly forbid to trust out his Mat^y's revenue notwithstanding I was forc't to take notes from him to the value of £800. besides a great many more which hee pretends still to bee standing out as your Lop^s will perceive by the audit

Hee has likewise been negligent in taking the bonds required by the laws of the Government from the masters of ships one ill consequence whereof has been the New York Pink has carried off several Elephants teeth without entry, @ the bond being inquired for there was none taken, How hee has behaved himself touching an Interloper that came in hither I have already given Sr Benj. Bathurst an account, and as for the debts for him pretended to too the auditors upon enquiry the most of them are found to bee received by him. and I beleive of thee rest, the twentieth part will never be had, they are soe ill

And besides notwithstanding his confused way of accounting @ being without a cheque upon him as aforesaid, he is found by his own accounts brought into the audit to bee £1758. 15 shillings threepence and $\frac{5}{8}$ ^{ths} of a penny in debt to the King as your Lop^s may see by the said audit which (as is to bee feared) is all gone besides his salary and pquisits, on which he might have lived very handsomely

Hee (as hee hath all along done) does to all persons he converseth with speak scurrilously @ abusively of me @ y^e Council which considering his circumstances we let pass without taking any notice of

Hee is likewise very troublesome to the present management of his Maty^s customs

I desire that as soon as may bee I may know what his Maty^s pleasure is should bee done with him, what acct I have here given y^r Lop^s of him is as moderate as may bee farr short of what I might have represented @ yet have spoken nothing but the truth. What I have done has not been out of malice, for I beare none

to him rather pitty, but purely with an intent to doe his Maty service @ to secure his interest, as I doubt not will appear to y^r LOPPS and if I bee to bee blamed for any thing in the Series of this affair its for too much forbearance

Thus my Lords I have given you as good an account of the Revenue received, @ by whom as I can, as alsoe how the same in a great part of it has been mismanaged and by what meanes I shall therefore now proceed to give your LOPPS an estimate of what charge the maintenance of this Govern^t has been hitherto to mee @ what will bee requisite for its further support

Its a very hard thing upon mee that coming over hither in troublesome times, finding noe revenue established @ yet having three garrisons to look after @ the forts in the condition before mentioned, @ finding such contest between the Govern^t of Canada @ this about the Beaver Trade the Inland Country @ the Indians, to purchase, as I was obliged by my instructions, sixty odd miles, upon Hudsons River 17 or 18 into the land in one place from the Indians. In another place up the River 16 miles And on the south side of Long-Island twelve miles to give a great deal to the Indians for Susquehanna River to bee at great expences on the Assembly at their first sitting when they gave the revenue @ on the Lord Howard of Effingham when here with his train Governor Pen, commisioners from Boston @ other colonies, the Gov^r of Connecticut East @ West Jersey, the running the line between this @ East Jersey and the like between Connecticut and this, tho' that last not yet finished besides the establishment as will appear by my books when audited @ sent over, which shall be by the very first conveniency, @ had been long ere now, had I got Mr Santens sooner done

In the meantime y^r LOPPS may bee capable of making an estimate of the constant charge of the Govern^t by the calculation thereof herewith sent in which you see that there is set down yearly for the Council Judges @ Attorney General which tho' not at present allowed in my opinion with submission to your LOPPS there is a necessity there should. The Councilors being persons obliged to a constant attendance from their own business @ the judges such as devote themselves wholly to that service @

whose present salary is soe small to support them @ their familys in that station as is set forth in their petition which I have herewith sent to his Maty for his consideration, neither can the Attorney-generals small perquisites bee able to maintain him in going thro his Matys concerns, which takes up his whole time, without the addition of such salary as his Maty shall think fitt to allow

Your Lop^a taking all this into y^r consideration, cannot but think his Maty must be in debt, which however would not have been very much had Mr Santen done his duty

What revenue there is is with the ease @ satisfaction of the people @ paid without grumbling, tho' as much as modesty can bee put upon them

Soe that if Connecticut bee not added to the Govern^t it can be hardly able to support itself. But if it bee added, thee revenue will bee sufficient to keep the King wholly out of debt

Mr Santen taxes me with covetousness in not allowing sufficiently to the officers employed. Niggardly I have not been, but the revenue being soe small @ having soe great a charge, I endeavored to bee as good a husband for the King as I could I'm sure better than I ever was for myself. And truly I have been put soe to it to make things doe that what small pquisits I got, I have disburst, @ not only soe, but have been forc't to engage my credit soe far as t'would goe @ that not sparing to pawn my plate for money to carry on the Kings affairs @ now I have sent some of it home by Mr Sprag to reimburse Sr Ben Bathurst what hee has paid for mee, @ to provide clothes for the soldiers @ some things for my own use

Answer to
Capt Santer's
charges a-
gainst me

Now My Lords before I proceed to answer the rest of your queries I will take occasion here to give your Lop^a satisfaction as to those articles Mr Santer has been pleased to draw up against mee, a copie whereof I herewith send for y^r Lop^a perusal the scope of which being to charge me with mismanagement of his Matys affairs, I thought noe place more proper for my making appear the falsity of his accusation than here, wherein I have been soe long treating of the mismanagement of the revenue in which this man himself had soe large a

share, which answers follow distinctly with relation to such proofs as are herewith sent necessary for my vindication

As to the FIRST Article--concerning a copartnership in a Trade to France &c

For my justification @ making appear the falsehood of this article is the testimony of Mr John Sprag @ Mr Gabriel Minvielle taken before Mr Swinton clerk of the Council hereunto annexed

To the SECOND concerning a partnership in trade to Newfoundland

This is noe less true than the other as appears by Major Brokbelles testimony &c @ truly had I any such design I had not communicated with the Kings collector especially to a man of his disposition @ subject to soe many follies @ infirmitys that he was never capable of concealing his own secrets from the very rabble of the town, @ always made the debates of the Council (while he was a member of it) the subject matter of his Tavern discourse

To the THIRD concerning my going sharer with the Privateers

Wherein hee does mee the honor to join mee in partnership with privateers I dont believe that Frederick Flipson ever went sharer with any body in a ship @ I am sure Beekman never had a vessel or a share in a vessel in his life Had I had 2 or 3 men's shares of what was got upon the wreck I think it had been noe breach of Law or my instructions it being customary in such cases for the Gov^{rs} of plantations to have it. But Mr Santen too was mistaken in this they did not clear for the wreck @ least they should make incursion upon the Spaniards I took security from them that they should not, in short for my justification on this point I refer myself to the testimonies of Frederic Flipson @ Beakman @ the obligation aforesaid herewith sent

To the FOURTH Copartnership with Mr Antill for Jamaica.

Hee does me wrong I never was concerned with Mr Antill in copartnership One Vaughton half brother to Mr Sprag that had been a volunteer 2 or three years on board Captⁿ Temple, @ hapning to bee in London when I came away offered his service to come along with mee, whom finding a pretty ingenious young man @ out of employment I promised to help him with 2

little mony when hee stood in need of it for to put him into some way. Whereupon not long after this Antill purposed if he could get money from his brother or any other to purchase the half of a little ship then to bee sold hee would purchase the other @ that Vaughton should goe master of her upon which hee came to mee into the country where I then was @ acquainted mee with y^e proposal @ desired my assistance to enable him to comply with it. I demanded what security hee could give mee, hee proposed to make over his share in the vessel for it. Upon which in kindness to him I let him have the money @ took the vessel in security for it @ by him sent as a venture ten Barils of Oyle of a drift Whale that came to my share, @ thirteen half Barils of Flower, to purchase Sugar Molasses Sweetmeats Oranges and other necessaries for use in my family. And this (as Mr. Santen knows as well as I @ most of the town) was all the concerns I ever had with Antil

To the FIFTH concerning the Dogger

This Mr Beekman having a Sloop went from this place to Nevis @ Sr William Stapleton hearing of a Dutch privateer gave him a commission to goe after him, which hee did @ took a great ugly vessel y^e dutch have for fishing with one deck @ went back with her to Nevis. Whereupon Sr W^m in reward of his good service gave him the Kings @ his own share in her soe hee brought her hither where shee being a Dutch built @ and the man having a mind to sell her, had her condemned at a Court of Admiralty. Upon which I forgave him the Kings share which by apprizement amounted to as doth appear by Mr Beekman's testimony

To the SIXTH concerning Heathcot's Sloop.

Mr. Santen does me wrong in this for upon the word of a Christian, I know not at this minute who were the apprizers they having been appointed by the Court where the sloop @ goods were condemned, @ they too upon their oaths. Neither had I any advantage by that vessel as Mr Santen knows tho' hee had by making George Heathcot pay him ninty pound @ charges which was more than the third part of the condemnation came too soe that I hope this is not the voyage hee charges the King with soe much for, tho' it is the only remarkable one hee ever made @ yet but ten miles distant from this place

To the SEVENTH concerning my Lord Neill Campbells goods

My Lord Neill Campbell its true desired my bill of store for the 10 P^r cent which I did grant, but Mr Santen does mee wrong to say that I ordered they should bee entered without examination to the best of my remembrance there was noe such thing : but here hee forgets what hee has done himself what goods hee has admitted to entry without examination contrary to Act of Assembly @ my order as appears by his own books to the great diminution of his Ma^{ty}s revenue in this Province : neither does he remember what bills of store hee has granted notwithstanding several orders to the contrary

To the EIGHTH concerning one Riddell

Mr Santen does mee wrong in this, One Mr Riddell a poor Gentleman that brought into this city without entry (as a great many others have done without Mr Santen or his officers taking notice thereof) a small parcel of linen afterwards appraised to be of the value of 3 or 5 pounds, And after that this Riddell @ one of the officers of the Custom House drinking drunk together, fell a quarrelling, on which the Officer went out @ meeting with Vaughton about one or two in the morning, compelled him to goe along with him to seize uncostomed goods at Riddell's lodging, where when they came they broke open the door upon this Riddell who being still drunk endeavoured to keep them out @ in the struggling stabbed Mr Vaughton. Whereupon he was secured in prison where hee lay a long time till Vaughton recovered. Afterwards the poor man being in a starving condition on the application of Mr Vaughton @ himself @ Mr Sprag @ several others hee was set at liberty, and on a petition of his to the Council his goods were ordered to bee released, hee paying all charges which being more than the value of the goods Mr Sprag in charity to Riddell paid the Surgeons their demands which was ten pounds without taking any thing from him

To the NINTH concerning Capt Santen's warrants to the Sheriffs &c

Mr Santen knows himself that from time to time by order of Council, all the Sheriffs have been obliged to account with him for all rents, Quit rents @ arrearages of rent &c yet this would not doe to make himself seem great, hee would needs issue forth

his own warrants, which poor man was done in one of his fitts @ indeed they met with such reception as they deserved, the she-rifs took noe other notice of them than to send them to mee Whereupon I being somewhat surprised at his manner of proce-dure called him before the Council where (being asked how he came to issue forth such warrants) his answer was that to his knouledge the Lord Treasurer did soe in England, But here I would ask Capt Santen why he hath not given a better account of Such Quit rents &c as have passed through his hands

To the TENTH concerning my covetousness as he is pleased to term it

Here (if Mr Santen speaks true in saying I have been covetous) it was in the management of this small revenue to the best advantage, @ had Mr Santen been as just as I have been careful, the King had not been in debt, as I had more in my pocket than now I have

It may be true when I called for the King's money @ accompts from Mr Santen @ I met with unbecoming returns I might use some passionat expressions

And as for my pinching Officers if hee means himself it was because he took it very ill that I would not allow him 7 or 800 pounds extravagant expenses, As for Fran. Barber I never spoke a word to him of salary in my life @ and leave it to the audit what acct hee gives of the Revenue of that County for three years @ on half

To the ELEVENTH concerning the excise of Long Island &c

What Mr. Santen says concerning the offer of £52 for the excise p^r a year may bee true I thought it very unreasonable that the excise of three Countys should be farmed for soe little, therefore I fixed upon Mr. Vaughton @ Mr. Nicolls looking upon them to bee honest men @ agreed with them for £20 P P^s @ what they could make over @ above they should deliver to Mr. Santen That Dan. Whitehead offered mee three pounds for my license it is false, or that I had £10, from Nicolls @ Vaughton is likewise false as doth appear by Mr Nicolls testimony @ would by that of Mr Vaughton were hee here Neither had I even any mony for licenses since I came into this Government except from Albany @ this place £24, but on the contrary gave it all to the collectors of the respective countys for their encouragement

To the TWELFE concerning Mr Pretty &c

Mr. Pretty is Sheriff of that County @ having a great deal of other concerns upon his hands for the King @ countreys service, that being a frontier County to Canada, soe that hee could not possibly attend the Surveyors place I put in William Shaw who had that place before in the time of Sr Edmond Andros @ as Mayor Brockhelles informs us behaved himself faithfully therein. And as to his allegation in his memorandums that Shaw was put in for satisfaction for two or three years pay due to him, it is wholly untrue as does appear by the testimony of Mayor Baxter, Mr Coker, @ by the receipt under Shaws own hand

To the THIRTEENTH concerning the deprivation of the Officers &c

This John Smith is a man that if hee were as honest as hee is able the King had had more justice done him @ Mr. Santen more money in his pocket. What account Sr Ben Bathurst gave mee of him I have already acquainted y^r Lo^{pp}s with, @ for what reasons hee was turned out of the Custom House is herein before given to your Lo^{ps}.

To the FOURTEENTH concerning the Pasture of Albany &c

As for this of the Pasture, he is mistaken, it was never yet in the King's hands, but hee that was the commander took some profits of it, which was a great grievance to the people it having been patented by governor Nicolls to several people @ by them built upon whose buildings have been since carried away by the overflowing of the river, It does not contain above fifteen or sixteen acres. I doubt not but I shall make it appear that I have done nothing in this to his Maty^s prejudice I conceive I have done the King very good service in Albany. The town of Albany lyes within the Ranslaers Colony, and to say truth the Ranslaers had the right to it for it was they settled the place, @ upon a petition of one of them to our present King about Albany the petitioner was referred to his Maty^s council at law who upon a perusal of the Ranslaers papers made their return that it was their opinion that it did belong to them Upon which there was an order sent over to Sr Edmund Andros that the Ranslaers should be put in possession of Albany, @ that every house should pay some two beavers, some more some less according to their dimensions p^r

annum, for thirty years, @ afterwards the Ranslaers to put what rent upon them they could agree for—What reason Sr Edmond Andros has given for not putting these orders in execution I know not

The Ranslaers came @ brought me the same orders which I thought not convenient to execute judgeing it not for his Maty's interest that the second town of the Goverment @ which brings his Maty soe great a Revenue should bee in the hands of any particular men The town of itself is upon a barren sandy spot of land, @ the inhabitants live wholly upon trade with the Indians. By the meanes of Mr James Graham Judge Palmer @ Mr Cortlandt that have great influence on that people I got the Ranslaers to release their pretence to the town @ sixteen miles into the country for commons to the King with liberty to cut firewood within the Colony for one @ twenty years. After I had obtained this release of the Ranslaers I passed the patent for Albany wherein was included the afore mentioned pasture, to which the people apprehended they had so good a right that they expressed themselves discontented at my reserving a small spot of it for a garden for the use of the Garrison

That the people of Albany has given me £700. is untrue I am but promised £300, which is not near my Prquisits, viz, ten shillings for every house @ the like for every hundred acres patented by me, established by a committee appointed by the Assembly for the establishing of all fees, where Capt Santen may remember himself was chairman, Alsoe what they have given to those other Gentlemen I know nothing of it @ upon my word in Genl I have not got the fourth part of my Pquisits, chusing rather to want them than take from the poor people that cannot spare it

To the FIFTEENTH concerning a farm at East Jersey belonging to his Maty &c

Mr Santen might have given a better account of this if his malice had suffered him The Farm at East Jersey paid £10, pr annum to his Maty @ at a Rack-rent, the proprietors of East Jersey putting us to more trouble than the value of it, they constantly disturbing the Tenants on pretence that his Maty had granted that to them, soe that I conclude it would be more

inconvenient to keep it than to part with it. Therefore Judge Palmer having an interest in East-Jersey @ an influence with the Governor there, on his giving mee his obligation to pay as a fine the summ of £60. to the King in case hee should not think fit to forgive it @ the rent of twenty shillings p^r ann. @ to defend the title, I gave him a lease of the Reversion of it

To the SIXTEENTH concerning Rockaway Neck &c

Mr Santen poor man neither understands his own nor others concerns, hee was one of the Council himself when Cap^t Palmer petitioned for licence to purchase this land, lying without the meers @ bounds of Hempsted @ when the same was granted, @ before hee had his patent granted, the people of Hempstead were summoned to appear to show cause, if they had any why it should not bee granted, Thereupon one person came to mee @ told mee that it was his land @ that it was within the meers @ bounds of Hempstead on which I ordered him to put a Caveat into the Secrys office against the passing of Judge Palmers patent, and then the Surveyor went to survey the lands accompanied by some of the Inhabitants of Hempsted, to show him their bounds who returning this lands to bee without their meers @ bounds the patent was passed in which Capⁿ Palmer is expressly bounded where hee adjoins to Hempsted by their line, And, wherein hee says the Hempsted people were frightened to let their Suits fall, its quite otherwise, for this Pearsall, upon the granting of this Patent got into possession of this land, inasmuch as Judge Palmer was forced to commence suits against him Where after it had sometime depended, Pearsall finding that to insist on his pretence would not avail him, suffered judgement to goe against him, and as for his being frightened into it by Capⁿ Palmers being Judge, there's noe such thing for on purpose he withdrew himself @ left the management of that Court to his Colleague Judge Nicolls and as for the lands being the only pasture of the town its wholly false for its noe pasture at all, being all woodland, and that town having a plain of upwards of 40,000 acres of good pasture without a stick upon it @ as for its value I beleive Judge Palmer would think himself obliged to Cap^t Santen or any others that would give him £200. for it.

To the SEVENTEENTH concerning Mr Grahams insinuation

Mr Santen is in the right that Mr Graham is Attorney-general @ supervisor of all Patents @ soe made upon Mr Rudyard's going from this place to Barbadoes @ is a person understanding in the law, it being his whole business Wherefore I thought it not fit to pass any patents without his perusal least I might doe prejudice to the King. Its likewise true that I have called in former patents @ still continue to doe so, that I might see by what Tenure they hold their lands, which I find generally to be by none, they paying noe acknowledgement to the King, Whereupon being convinced of that defect by the resolution of y^e Judges the people for their own ease @ quiet @ that of their posterity which otherwise might have fallen under the lash of succeeding Governors, without the least murmuring have renewed their patents with a reservation of a certain Quit-Rent to the King to the noe small advancement of his Revenue, @ this done with general satisfaction @ of which none will in the least complain but on the contrary express themselves thankful for it

Mr Santen sure when hee wrote this article against mee did not consider the obligation that was upon us both to advance the Kings interest in our several stations, far less how inconsistent it was with his office to bee the only pson aggrieved at the advancement of his Matys revenue, when the people themselves that are concerned are not only satisfied but pleased with it

Again hee forgets that hee was a member of the Council when they gave it for their opinion that those former patents were insufficient @ and were then dayly consenting to the passing of new ones. As for sums of mony exacted I own I have received £200 from Ranslaer, but its nothing to what my perquisits would have amounted to according to the aforementioned regulation hee having a vast tract of land

From Hempted I rec^d one hundred pound by forty @ that in Cattle which is far less than my pquisits they having upwards of 100.000 acres, I own alsoe I have received £300 from the citty of New York, @ have granted them nothing more than what they had from my predecessors, @ is now before his Mat^y for a confirmation

The land that Mr Santen complains of to bee such a grievance, is the Dock which the town at their own proper charge have taken from the sea, @ dayly are at vast expense to maintain, @ what use they make of it is not my business to inquire, but as to their selling to the value of £1500 for my use is wholly false, And as for those other sums of 50, 30 @ 20 pound, its not soe. I was never covetous to take from the poor people what they could not well spare, the Secratary is my witness, but if I had it never amounted to my pquisits, according to the regulation aforesaid

Answer to
Capt Santens
Mem'dums

Besides the charge herein before answered were found several memorandums of what Mr Santen intended to complain against me. Among which there being some things not mentioned in the said charge, the same as I presume not being perfected, I presume furthur to trouble your Lo^{ps} with what I have to say therein in my vindication

Cobbys Ship

I am sorry Mr Santen has not a better memory. The Kings share of Cobbys Ship came by apprizement to £19 7^s 6^d which was by Judge Palmer paid into Captⁿ Santens own hands as appears by the testimony of Capt Palmer

Merritts house

As to Mr Merritts house it does not pay soe much rent as Capt Santen pretends @ is too quite out of repaire, ready to drop down

The Farm

And as to the Farm hee might have remembered that I showed him a letter from S^r B Bathurst wherein was intimated that his Royal Highness now his Mat^y was pleased I should have both the farm @ the house during the time of my government of this place

Coker's House

For Coker's house I am glad Captⁿ Santen has found so considerable a rent, for my part I never received a peny for it, therefore I shall now charge £72, more, being four yeares rent to Capt Santens account for which he has not yet given the King credit There was a cooper liv'd in the next house to it and paid 12 or 15 pound p^r ann for which I find no credit given to the King in Capt Santens books, since the cooper left the poorest p'son in town would not live in it it being ready to drop down @ Cokers is not in a better condition, soe bad they are that its a

wonder to every body that they stand yet, in soe much that when Dr Junes brought me my Lord Middletons order to let him have them @ I showed them to him hee would not live in them

Two or three years agoe Sr John Worden sent me an order to give a long lease of them to any that would take it, I have not met with any such person @ I am sure if rebuilt by the King, it will not give him the interest of his money @ Merritts house is in the same condition, as appears by the return of a Survey made by some of the Council and Carpenters sent to view it

Antills business As for the business between Mr Santen @ Mr Antill its a thing soe scandalous that I will not trouble your Lop^s with an account of it, only this I'll say that Mr Antill sent severall to him and I spake to him myself to let him know that Mr Antill would be satisfied with an acknowledgement that hee had done him wrong in speaking those scandalous words @ that it was the effects of drink, But Mr Santens pride was such that hee would not doe it, but continued to justify what hee had said. Whereupon Mr Antill took out the execution against him (he not being then of the Council) but before the serving sent him y^e like message as before with the same effect whereupon the execution was served

Larkins Case As for Larkins case I refer to the orders of Council herewith sent

And as for the Kings concerns going in a right channel I am sure they never can where he has powers. As for desiring a list of his Mat^ys Quit-Rents @ my denying it to him, its wholly untrue for he has a book with an acct of all the Quit-Rents that then were to bee found mentioned in the records of Patents kept in the Secretarys office, which I caused Coker to draw out on purpose for him

Smith kept the key of the Granary @ what corn I received for my own use or the use of the Garrison was taken out by Coker @ it was shown to Mr Smith where I gave credit to the King for it in my books. Afterwards finding that Santen gave no credit to the King for what corn came into the Granary I took the key from Smith @ gave it to James Larkens with order to him to give receipts for what should bee brought in @ to give an account of it to Smith that hee might enter it upon the books

Capt Palmer &
Mr Ja Graham

Hee does Judge Palmer @ Mr Graham wrong for they are psons look't upon by the Council as fittest for those employments they are in, viz. Palmer Judge @ Graham attorney for the King, And if Mr Santen would speak truth he must needs say they both have been very serviceable for the King in the advancement of his Revenue, @ that they still continue with their utmost endeavors soe to bee And though their way of living is by the law, yet their management has been such by arbitration @ such other mild courses that were there was ten actions formerly there is not one now. And the Council had soe good an opinion of Captⁿ Palmer that hee was thought the fittest to bee the Judge of y^e court for the Kings affairs

As for sloops &c going from this to Newfoundland, if it was against the act of navigation hee did ill to admit soe many to clear @ enter to @ from thence without soe much as taking notice of it, till hee @ Major Brockhelles falling out, hee took occasion to seize his sloop, which the Council @ I looking upon to bee only malicious discharged taking security from him till his Maty^s further pleasure were known Mr Mayne coming here @ shewing mee his instruction, noe vessel has gone from hence thither since,

And had I not relyed soe much upon Cap^t Santen none had gone, @ for his sake I'll not trust to another soe much again

Mr Santen was in the right I was angry to find a cart-load of goods going off the bridge after shutting up the Custom House without entry @ demanding of the man how long they had been there, hee answered from seven in the morning, without any officers taking notice of them, Upon my speaking to Mr. Santen he fell excusing his officers @ gave mee ill words. What thereupon happened I refer to My Lord Neal @ Mr Mayne's testimonies that were then witnesses of it

As for Woolsford's case I have already referred your Lop^s to the account given thereof to S^r Benjamin Bathurst.

The negro-story I refer to the record herewith sent I never did anything since I came into the government without the advice @ consent of the Council

The ship Charts was cleared upon trial Mr Santen had nothing to allege against her

The sloop Lancaster is the same with that of Gov. Heathcot before mentioned

The Boat of D'Morez was condemned for going to the Mill with Corn without the Governmt @ seized by Capt Santen

The Sloop Fortune was condemned @ my own share as well as the Kings forgiven, the poor man having done what he did innocently

The Sloop Lewis came from Pettiquaves, @ brought here some of our people who had been taken by the Spaniards, in going to Jamaica with provisions @ had fled to Pettiquaves @ the sloop coming hither the master sent up word from Sandy Hook that hee would willingly come @ live here which I willingly granted him liberty to doe, @ in consideration of his service in bringing home our people I forgave the Kings @ my own part in the sloop after shee was condemned with the proviso that if his Maty did not approve of it hee should pay that share according to appraizement for which Bond was accordingly taken, as will appear to y^r Lo^{ps} by the attested copie herewith sent In short all that I'll say, hee's fitter for a retired life, than to bee the Kings Collector

To the three & Twentieth

What estimate you
can make touch-
ing the estates &c.

The answer thereof is referred to the next

In answer to the tenth & four @ Twentieth querie

What persua-
sions in Reli-
gion &c

Every Town ought to have a Minister New York has first a Chaplain belonging to the Fort of the Church of England; Secondly, a Dutch Calvinist, thirdly a French Calvinist, fourthly a Dutch Lutheran—Here bee not many of the Church of England; few Roman Catholicks; abundance of Quakers preachers men @ Women especially; Singing Quakers, Ranting Quakers; Sabbatarians; Antisabbatarians; Some Anabaptists some Independents; some Jews; in short of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all

The Church

The Great Church which serves both the English @ the Dutch is within the Fort which is found to bee very inconvenient therefore I desire that there may bee an order for their building an other ground already being layd out for that purpose @ they wanting not money in Store wherewithall to build it

The most prevailing opinion is that of the Dutch Calvinists

To the five and twentieth

What course
&c It is the endeavour of all Psons here to bring up their children @ servants in that opinion which themselves profess, but this I observe that they take no care of the conversion of their Slaves.

Every Town @ County are obliged to maintain their own poor, which makes them bee soe careful that noe Vagabonds, Beggars, nor Idle Persons are suffered to live here

But as for the Kings natural-born-subjects that live on long-Island @ other parts of the Government I find it a hard task to make them pay their Ministers.

THO. DONGAN.

MY LORDS

Since my writing of this, on Perusal of some Papers in the Secretary's office, I found some Memorandums of Sir Edmond Andros whereby I understand that in the year 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ hee sent home Captⁿ Salisbury for England to let his Royal Highness now his Ma^{ty} know how impossible it was, for this Government to subsist without the addition of Connecticut. And hee himself went with some soldiers to surprise them, intending when hee had done it to keep possession by a Fort hee designed to make at a place called Seabrook but was prevented by the opposition of two Company's of men then lodged there ready to goe out ag^t the Indians with whom they were in Warr

Much less it can subsist now without it, being at more expense than in the time of Sir Edmond @ having lost Delaware @ soe consequently the Peltry Trade which is not much inferiour to that of the Beaver, besides much Quit-rents @ the Excise which would have been a very considerable Revenue. And too, what helps, hee had these from East @ West Jersey.

Weighing this with the reasons aforementioned, I hope his Ma^{ty} will bee graciously pleased to add that Colony to this which is the Centre of all *His Dominions* in America. And the people thereof have been more inclined to his Ma^{ty}'s service and have expressed upon all occasions more Loyalty than any other of these Parts

Likewise I am to give y^r Lo^{ps} an account that since I received my Instructions, I caused a Vessel which came to Amboy to come

hither @ enter—It being the opinion of the Council, that it was both agreeable to my Instructions and former practise especially in the time of Sir Edm^d Andros

Pensilvania I am now informed that the people of Pensilvania have had last year from the Indians, upwards of 200 packs of Beaver down to the Skonshill @ will have more this, as I have reason to believe, which if not prevented, his Ma^{ty} must not expect this Governm^t can maintain itself, besides that it will wholly depopulate both this Town @ Albany

One Rogers the Weighmaster being found indebted to the King in £190-17- $\frac{1}{2}$ I demanded the mony from him to which hee returned for answer ; that he was Mr. Santen's servant @ would live @ die by him @ would not pay it without his order. On which an Extent was made out against him @ hee taken thereupon @ put into Prison ; Where after many endeavors of Mr Saten to the contrary as will appear by the Minutes of Council hee at last paid £140 of it which I was willing to take rather than lose the whole

I am afraid wee shall not have soe good an account of the rest of the debts

Being informed that Mr Smith has never accounted with Mr Santen @ having the opinion of Capt^a Palmer @ Mr Graham that he is accountable to the King at least for soe much of the mony as hee has received to his own use on pretence of Salary without any authority for the same. I have caused him to be arrested in an action of account at his Ma^{ty}s suit, upon which hee lies a prisoner to answer it at the Court appointed for the management of his Ma^{ty}s Revenue

Mr Santen since his commitm^t hath been soe unruly @ abusive to mee and the Council that in our own defence, Wee are force't to send him home, threatning us with Chains at least for what wee have done.

Councillors The names of y^e Councilors

Major Anthony Brockhells

Frederick Flipson

Stephen V Courtlandt

John Spragg

Gervis Baxter

The Council thought fit not to give Mr. Santen his oath as appears by the Minutes of Council

John Young had his oath given him but hee lives 150 miles from this, @ has no estate of his own and very old, that it is a thing impossible for him to serve

There being a clause in my Instructions wherein I am limited not to act without five, therefore Mr John Spragg @ Major Jervis Baxter going for England, and there not being a sufficient number to make a quorum, I have by Vertue of a clause in my letters Patents, impowring mee in case of absence out of the Government death or Suspension to add of the principal Freeholders) given the oath to Judge Palmer and Nicolas Bayard the present Mayor to serve in the Council until his Ma^{ty}s pleasure be known

And whereas there is a clause in my Instructions to send over the names of six persons more fitt to supply the vacancy of the Council six of the fittest I find in this Government are as followeth

Mathias Nichols Judge

James Graham

William Smith

Gabriel Minvielle

Francis Rumbouls

Major Nicolas Demyre

VII.

PAPERS

RELATING TO

M. de Denonville's Expedition

TO

THE GENESEE COUNTRY AND NIAGARA.

1687.

EXTRACT FROM THE KING'S INSTRUCTIONS TO THE
MARQUIS DE DENONVILLE, March 10, 1685.

[Paris Doc. III.]

His principal object ought to be to establish the repose of the Colony by a firm and solid peace. But to render this peace durable he must lower the pride of the Iroquois, support the Illinois and the other allies whom Sr de la Barre has abandoned, and by a firm and vigorous policy to let the said Iroquois know that they will have every thing to fear if they do not submit to the conditions which he intends to impose on them.

He will, then, first declare to them that he shall protect with all his power the allies of the French ; inform the Illinois, the Outaouacs, Miamis and others of the same thing, and should he deem it proper to back this declaration by troops and an expedition against the Senecas, His Majesty leaves it to him to adopt, in his regard, such resolutions as he shall deem most suitable, being well persuaded that he will follow the best course, and that his experience in war will place him in a position to bring that to a speedy conclusion if he be obliged to undertake it.

He ought to be informed that the Commandant of New York has pretended to aid the Iroquois and to extend the English domination even to the bank of the River St. Lawrence and over the whole extent of Country inhabited by those Savages. And though His Majesty doubts not but the King of England to whom he has made representations by his Ambassador, will give orders to his Commandant to put a stop to these unjust pretensions, he, notwithstanding, considers it necessary to explain to him that he ought to do every thing to maintain good understanding between the French and English : Yet should the latter, contrary to every appearance, rouse the Savages and afford them succor, he must

act towards them as towards enemies, when he finds them in the Indian Country, without, however, attempting any thing in the countries under the King of England's obedience.

FATHER LAMBERVILLE TO GOV. DONGAN.

[London Doc. V.]

From Onnontagué, 10 Sept. 1685.

My Lord—I had the honour not long since to write to you—it was last month; since the despatch of my last letter, the Senecas who were desirous to make trouble and to persuade the Mohawks and other villages to unite with them against Mons^r de la Barre, have changed their minds; since they were assured that the peace concluded last year, as you desired, should not be broken by M. de la Barre, as they were maliciously told, and as a hundred false reports which are never ceased being related would persuade them. To complete successfully what you have so well begun, it only remains to exhort the Senecas to add a few more peltries to the ten beavers and thirty otters which they left in deposit with the Onnontagués to satisfy M^r de la Barre, as you recommended them to do last year. Let your zeal for the public peace, and especially for the Christians of this America induce you, if you please, to put the finishing hand to this good work and to recommend the Senecas and other villages not to attach credit to the new floating rumors, since it is true that the Gov^r of Canada desires with all his heart that all things should be quiet and to second your just intentions. The Onnontagués and those who are of their opinions, have operated powerfully on the minds of the said Senecas to induce them to resume thoughts of peace, as well as Mr Arnout, bearer of this letter, who was present at what was done and said; and who can inform you, and from whom you will be glad to receive his report.

Since peace, through your care, will apparently last, we shall continue to carry the Christian faith through this Country, and to solicit the Indians, whom you honor with your friendship, to embrace it as you yourself embrace it, for this is the sole object that

has caused us to come here, that the blood of JESUS CHRIST, shed for all men, may be useful to them, and that His glory may be great throughout the earth.

If you will please to honour me with a line from your hand, you can have your letter given to one named Garakontié who is deputed from the Onnontagués to repair to the Diet which you have convoked at Albany. Do him the charity to exhort him to be a good Christian, as he was whose name he bears, and who was his brother. Recommend him I beseech you not to get drunk any more, as he promised when he was baptized, and to perform the duties of a Christian. One word from you will have a wonderful effect on his mind, and he will publish throughout that it is not true that the English forbid them to be Christians since you who command them will have exhorted them to persevere therein.

I pray God, who has given us the grace to be united in the same Catholic faith, to unite us also in Heaven; and that he may heap his graces on you here on earth, is the wish of him who is perfectly and with all manner of respect, My Lord,

Your very humble and

very obedient servant,

JEAN DE LAMBERVILLE,

of the order of Jesuits, (called in Indian, *Teiorhensere*.)

Oblige me, I request you, to have the enclosed sent to its address.

Please, My Lord, pardon me the liberty which I take to present my humble respects to the Governor of Virginia, who is called among the Indians, Big Sword or Cutlass, who I learn is with you at Albany, to whom, some time ago, I caused to be restored an Englishman named Rolelman, whom these Indians here had plundered and captured and whom I took into my hut to save him from the fury of some refractory people and from those who would make him their slave. It is the least service I would desire to render him.

MEMOIR CONCERNING THE PRESENT STATE OF CANADA

AND THE MEASURES THAT MAY BE ADOPTED FOR THE SECURITY OF THE COUNTRY. 12 NOVEMBER 1685. (*Extract.*)

[Paris Doc. III.]

The most to be feared is the Iroquois who are the most powerful in consequence of the facility with which they obtain arms from the English and the number of slaves they make daily among their neighbours by carrying away at an early age their children, whom they adopt; this is the only means of their increase, for thro' their debaucheries of Brandy which lead them into frightful disorders, the few children their women raise could not of themselves assuredly sustain them, if they did not make prisoners.

The great trade in arms and ammunitions at a low rate, among the English has given them hitherto that advantage which they have over other nations who in order to be disarmed have been destroyed by the former who are all of them insolent. Even the English in Virginia have suffered and still suffer from them every day; but the interest of the trader at Orange and Manatte supersedes the public interest, for if they would not sell them powder, that nation could be more easily conquered than any other. It consists of five principal villages, each of which have other smaller ones dependant on them; the first is called Annié (Mohawk) which can furnish two hundred men fit for service and are ten leagues from Orange (Albany); the second is Oneyoust (Oneida) which can furnish one hundred and fifty men at from 15 to 20 leagues from Annié; the third is Onontagué which could bring out three hundred men, ('tis one hundred leagues from Montreal); the fourth is Goyoguoain (Cayuga) which could put two hundred men a-foot, at twelve leagues from Lake Ontario, and the Sonoutouans (Senecas) the fifth, who comprize, as it is reported, twelve hundred men bearing arms, at five leagues South of the Lake.

The Senecas being the strongest, are the most insolent. The idea must not be entertained that this Nation can ever be reduced except by being in a position to pounce on them; which cannot be done without approaching them, occupying some posts where

provisions can be placed for the troops who will be sent after them. To accomplish this sufficiently apropos without being perceived by the enemy, in consequence of the navigation of the river, which is full of Rapids and Cascades, impassable except by portages, independant of the distance—herein consists all the care and difficulty.

The post of Catarokuy appears to me the most advantageous, by placing it in a better state of defence than it is. It is at the entrance of Lake Ontario from the extremity of which the Senecas are distant only five or six leagues, in a beautiful country towards the South.

The position of this fort is sufficiently favorable to secure the barks against the storms and the attacks of the Indians at a trifling expense which will require to be made on it. The passage to be made through this lake is forty or fifty leagues before disembarking near the Senecas. The three barks at Catarokuy will be particularly useful in this enterprize by putting them in repair, for they have been much neglected.

* * * * *

It appears to me extremely important that the King render himself absolute master of this Lake, which is more than three hundred leagues in circumference. I am persuaded that the English would like particularly to have a post there, which would be immensely prejudicial to the Colony and the King's power on this Continent; his Majesty could easily make himself master of it, without any opposition, by the permanent establishment of a post, with vessels on this lake, and by another fort and vessels on lake Erie which is only two leagues distant, by the Niagara River, from this lake Ontario; but as this post cannot be established until after the Iroquois are conquered, I shall, before entering into a detail of the means of conquering that Nation, again say, regarding the importance of occupying those posts, that the English have so great a facility to establish themselves there that it is the power of the Iroquois alone which has prevented them having posts there, since Lake Ontario can be easily reached on horseback from Manatte and Orange, there being a distance of only one hundred leagues through a fine country.

The importance of the post to be occupied on lake Erie is easily perceived, since we can easily go in vessels from that lake to Missilimakina which would be a great facility for the trade of the country, to keep the Outaouacs in check and in obedience to the King; besides, we should have the means of reaching through this lake the Illinois, and surmount by this communication with ships many of the difficulties experienced in the Rivers in consequence of the number of portages. Being masters of these two lakes and cruizing there with our vessels, the English would lose the Beaver trade in that quarter, of which they have abundance.

A durable peace with the Iroquois Indians would be more advantageous to the Colony than prosecuting a war; but this Nation has assumed such excessively insolent and haughty airs towards all the other tribes against whom they wage war and at whose expense they daily increase; and joined to that, the odds they have had from a disadvantageous peace concluded last year with us, has placed them in a position that, we may be assured, they will break with us on the first opportunity. It is yet more certain that if they be not checked, they will reassume their former insolent air the moment there will be no more troops in this country, however they may promise us at present, and will no doubt insult us, and subject us to all possible outrage.

It is necessary, then, to examine the most certain means of destroying and conquering their five villages, which according to the above estimate, may bring into the field about two thousand men bearing arms, and in a condition to go to war.

I consider that what troops we have, and what militia we can collect together, if we had them all with some of our Savages, would suffice to attack them; but as it is not sufficient to make them let go their foot, and it becomes necessary to deprive them of all means of disturbing us in our settlements, we must not go after them to chastise them by halves but to annihilate them if possible. This cannot be done without the aid of a number of Savages sufficiently great to pursue them in security to the distant forests towards Maryland and Andastes whither they will retreat if they find that we are more powerful than they; and as it is of extreme importance not to declare war against them until we are

in a condition to vanquish them, it will be absolutely necessary to adopt measures with the Illinois, their enemies, and with the Savages our allies, to engage them to unite with us in attacking them and pursuing them into the woods whither they never fail to retire, daring not to stand against us. For as it would be very unfortunate not to vanquish them if we attack them, nothing ought to be neglected that can be done, to endeavor to destroy them and put it beyond their power to injure the Colony. If we succeed, I calculate the English will lose their trade in that quarter.

I find all our allies so discontented with us, and so dissatisfied on account of the idle march which we caused them to make last year, that according to what I learn, I do not believe that any of them can be relied on.

Before engaging in a war, then, I considered it prudent to permit the continuance of the negotiations of a certain Onontague savage, accredited by them and the other Iroquois, who is said to wish for nothing but peace. Notwithstanding I bethought me of managing the Illinois by promising them every protection, and as Chevalier de Tonty, who is in command at the fort on behalf of M. de Lasalle, has considerable influence among the Illinois, I have deemed it a duty to advise him of my arrival and of the necessity which exists that he should speak, as soon as possible, for the King's interest.

I likewise sent to M. de Ladurantaye who is at lake Superior under orders from M. de Labarre, and to Sieur Duluth who is also at a great distance in another direction, and all so far beyond reach that neither the one nor the other can have news from me this year, so that not being able to see them all, at soonest before next July, I considered it best not to think of undertaking any thing during the whole of next year, especially as a great number of our best men of the Colony are among the Outaouacs, and cannot return before the ensuing summer.

Moreover, learning that six tribes of our friends and allies are at war with each other, and as it is absolutely necessary to reconcile them before thinking of deriving any advantage from them, I sent presents and instructions to M. Ladurantaye to collect our

French and put himself at their head, in order to support his reasoning and to have more authority to reconcile them in concert with Father Anjeblan Jesuit Missionary at Missilimakina.

We shall, however, lose no time in putting ourselves in a position to resent the insults that the Iroquois may offer the Colony, which would suffer very much if we were mastered, and we will not let pass any negotiations that offer so as to lull the Senecas who are the most insolent, and with whom there is no permanent peace to be expected, much less that they will observe it with our allies whose total destruction they contemplate.

Chevalier de Tonty commandant of M de Lasalle's fort among the Illinois, coming next week, we shall agree together as to what is best to be done to secure the conquest of this Nation, which I understand can be done if he can march with a sufficiently large body of Illinois behind lake Erie and come to Niagara, as Sieur de la Forest who commanded at Fort Catarokvy told me could be done, who also assured me that powder and at least four or five hundred guns would be required to arm these people. This is but a loan, which the said Sieur de Laforest is certain will be reimbursed in cash, by the said Sieur de Tonty.

The said Sieur de La Forest having demanded my permission to go and join said Sieur de Tonty on M de Lasalle's business, I deemed it proper to select a capable person to guarantee the safety of the Post of Catarokvy. I chose Sieur D'Orvilliers a very prudent and intelligent man and who has much experience, whose conduct during M de Labarre's administration is praised and approved by all persons of property in the country.

I gave him his company as a garrison, with some workmen as well to refit the vessels as to repair the barracks, and to put the fort in the best possible condition to pass the winter.

And as there is a great resort of Iroquois at that place, and as there is quite a number established there, I requested the Jesuit Fathers to station Father Milet there to act as Interpreter and to correspond with Father de Lamberville who is a Missionary among the Onontagues who evince a desire for peace.

In regard to Sieur Duluth I sent him orders to repair here so that I may learn from himself the number of savages on whom I may

depend: he is accredited among them and rendered great services to M de Labarre by a considerable number of savages whom he brought to him to Niagara, who alone would have attacked the Senecas were it not for an express order from M de Labarre to the contrary.

On arriving here I found neither batteaux nor canoes for our troops, and as they are absolutely useless if not adapted to pass from one point to another; knowing by experience that the expense of canoes is too great and that they require too much attention and repair, I thought I could not do better than to order plank to be prepared for one hundred flat batteaux, which will carry twice more than canoes and will be much cheaper both in cost and repair, because a batteau that will carry two thousand pounds will not cost more than a canoe which will carry only one.

The means for preparing to wage war against the Iroquois, if the King approve of it, so that that Nation may not have any suspicion, remain to be considered.

It is very much to be desired that first of all, sufficient flour and other provisions might be put into Catarokvy next year, so as to have nothing to do the following year but to march against the enemy; but as I do not think it possible to convey the whole quantity of provisions necessary thither without the savages naturally suspicious taking umbrage, measures must be adopted to accomplish all in the same year with great diligence, which cannot be effected without trouble and expense, for in truth, the difficulties in surmounting rapids and cascades, twenty-five to thirty leagues in extent, are immense.

This, however, is not all; for it is well to consider that the arrangements are not easy to be made so as to secure punctuality, since from the Illinois country there are four hundred leagues to be travelled to arrive at Niagara, the place of rendezvous; and from the Outaouacs and Savages of lake Superior, three hundred leagues, and from Quebec nearly two hundred to the said place of Niagara. All this must make me think of putting myself in a condition to be, myself, sufficiently strong to fight them without any other aid than that of this country.

The conveyance of supplies and the expense are my sole diffi-

cultes. The neighbourhood of Catarokvy indifferently fertile in grain, produces good peas ; M. de Laforest assures me that he has nearly three hundred minots. I caused him to give orders to have them all sown, and M. d'Orvilliers not to allow any to be consumed, but will make the soldiers work and oblige them to plant some. That will be a trifling supply of four or five hundred minots for next year.

* * * * *

It will require considerable expense to render the river navigable ; the Map I have caused to be made of it will afford some imperfect idea by remarking the pitch in several places there.

* * * * *

The surest remedy against the English of New-York would be to purchase that place from the King of England who in the present state of his affairs, will, without doubt, require money of the King. By that means we should be masters of the Iroquois without waging war.



M. DE DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER, 8 May 1686.

[Paris Doc. III.]

I learn that the news which I had the honour to send you of the appearance on Lakes Ontario and Erie of English Canoes accompanied by French Deserters on their way to the Outaouacs is true. There are ten of them loaded with merchandize. Thereupon, my Lord, I sent orders to Missilimakina, to Catarokouy and other places where we had Frenchmen, to run and seize them, and I am resolved to send another officer with twelve reliable men to join Sieur D'Orvilliers at Catarosky, who is to go with Sieur de Lasalle's bark to Niagara to treat there with the Iroquois Indians on their return from hunting. He will take some men with him. This officer, with the aid of this bark and some canoes which shall be furnished him, will post himself with twenty good men at the River, communicating from the Lake Erié

with that of Ontario, near Niagara by which place the English who ascended Lake Erié must of necessity pass on their return home with their peltries I regard, my Lord, as of primary importance the prohibition of this trade to the English, who without doubt, would entirely ruin ours both by the cheaper bargains they could give the Indians and by attracting to them the Frenchmen of our Colony who are accustomed to go into the woods.

* * * * *

I am persuaded that the Iroquois are very anxious for peace now that they see troops, but I do not at all believe that they will submit not to make war any more against the other Nations our allies, therefore there is no doubt but we must prepare to humble them.

What I should consider most effectual to accomplish this, would be the establishment of a right good post at Niagara.

The manner in which the English have managed with the Iroquois hitherto, when desirous to establish themselves in their neighbourhood, has been to make them presents for the purchase of the soil and the property of the land they wish to occupy. What I see most certain is, whether we act so by them or have peace or war with them, they will submit with considerable impatience to see a fort built at Niagara which would secure to us the communication between the two lakes; would render us masters of the road the Senecas take in going to hunt for furs, none of which they have on their own grounds; it is likewise their rendezvous when hunting for their supplies of meat with which, as well as with all sorts of fish, this country abounds.

This post would be of great advantage to the other nations who are at war with these, and who durst not approach them, having too long a road to travel when retreating. It would keep them in check and in obedience, especially by building a Fort sufficiently large to contain a force of 4 or 500 men to make war on them; this cannot be done without expense because it must be enclosed by a simple, ordinary picket fence to place it beyond all insult, not being in a position to be relieved by us.

To guarantee its construction, it must not be doubted for a

moment, though at peace with them, but a guard would be necessary there for the security of the workmen. The freight of provisions as well for the garrison as the troops to be stationed there is very high, since a thousand pounds wt which is a load for a canoe, costs 110 liv. from Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal to Catarakouy. Independent of mere provisions, how many other necessaries and munitions are required !

This post, my Lord, would absolutely close the entire road to the Outaouacs against the English, and would enable us to prevent the Iroquois carrying their peltries to the latter ; for with the redoubt at Catarakouy which would serve us as an Entrepot to shelter our barks from the storms in winter, we having posts at both sides of the Lake could render ourselves Masters of the hunting of that Nation who can support itself merely by that means and would draw but little from the English if it had no more peltries to give them : What is very certain, they would carry them much fewer than heretofore.

I propose to send *Sieur d'Orvilliers* to Niagara this year with *Sieur de Villeneuve*, the draughtsman whom you gave me, to draw the plan, and after I shall have seen the Iroquois at *Villemarie* on the Island of Montreal and we shall know what we have to expect from them, I'll see if I shall not be able to take a trip thither myself, in order to furnish you with a more certain report thereon ; for to rely on *Sieur de Villeneuve* alone, he is a very good, very accurate, very faithful draughtsman, but in other respects he has not a very well ordered mind ; it is too confined to be able to furnish out of his own head any ideas for the establishment of a post and its management.

I am assured that the land in the neighbourhood is very fine and fertile, easy of cultivation ; it is situate about the 44th degree. Every thing I learn confirms me in the opinion which I entertain, that this post would, in three years at farthest, support itself. It is to be feared that fortifying it would draw war on us, if you wish to avoid it ; but at the same time I believe that were the Senecas to see us well planted there, they would be more pliant.

Should this plan be agreeable to you, my Lord, please send

masons and plenty of instruments to break up the ground and convey stone.

* * * *

You will be surprised, my Lord, to learn that Sieur de Chailly, of whom I had the honour to write you this fall, not being able to have his *cong  * from me to retire to France with all his property which he sent off last year before my arrival, has fled and deserted the Country, to pass over to Orange (Albany) and thence without doubt by way of England to France.

* * * *

What is disagreeable in it is, that he will have informed Governor Dongan of every thing he knows of our expeditions to the *Baie du Nord* (Hudson's Bay) and has learned of the interests of the country and our designs. I beg of you, my Lord, to permit the confiscation of whatever property may be found belonging to him for the benefit of the two hospitals of the Colony.

FROM GOV. DONGAN TO M. DE DENONVILLE.

[Lond. Doc. V.; Par. Doc. III.]

Albany, May 22. 1686.

Sir—I have sent for the five Nations of Indians y^t belongs to this Govern^{mt}. to meet me at this place, to give them in charge that they should not goe to your side of the Great Lakes nor disturbe your Indians and Traders, butt since my coming here I am informed that our Indians are apprehensive of warr by your putting stores into Cataract [Cataraqui] and ordering some forces to meet there. I know you are a man of judgment and that you will not attack the King of England's subjects. Being informed that those Indians with whom our Indians are engaged in warr with, are to the West and Southwest of the greate Lakes (if so) in reason you can have no pretence to them. It is my intention that our Indians shall not warr with the farr Indians. Whether they doe or not it does not seem reasonable that you should ingage yourself in the quarrell of Indians wee pretend too, against our own Indians. Whether these Territories belong to our or the

French King is not to be decided here, but by our Masters at home ; and your business & mine is to take Mapps of the Country so well as wee can and to send them home for the limits to be adjusted there.

I am likewise informed that you are intended to build a ffort at a place called Ohniagero on this side of the Lake within my Masters territoryes without question (I cannot believe it,) that a person that has your reputation in the world would follow the steps of Mons^r Labarre and be ill advised by some interested persons in your Governm^t to make disturbance between our Masters subjects in these parts of the world for a little pillitree ; when all these differences may be ended by an amicable correspondence between us, If there be any thing amiss, I doe assure you it shall not be my fault though we have suffered much, and doe dayly by your People's trading within the King of England's territoryes. I have had two letters from the two Fathers that lives amongst our Indians, and I find them somewhat disturbed with an apprehension of war, which is groundlesse, being resolved that it shall not begin here, and I hope your prudent conduct will prevent it there, and referr all differences home as I shall doe. I heare one of the Fathers is gone to you, and the other that staid I have sent for him here lest the Indians should insult over him, tho' its a thousand pittys that those that have made such progresse in the service of God should be disturbed, and that by the fault of those that laid the foundation of Christianity amongst these barbarous people.

Setting apart the station I am in I am as much Mons^r Desnonville's humble Servant as any friend he has, and will omitt noe opportunity of manifesting the same

Sr

Your humble Serv^t

THO^s DONGAN.

This Rumor of y^r coming to Cataracto has prevented my sending a gentleman to Quebec to congratulate your arryval in y^e Governm^t soe am constrained to make use of y^e Father for v^e safe conveyance of this to your hands

M. DE DENONVILLE TO GOV. DONGAN.

[Par. Doc. III.]

Ville marie, June 20. 1686.

I received, Sir, the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 22nd May last, You will sufficiently learn, in the end, how devoid of all foundation are the advices which you have had of my pretended designs and that all that has been told you by the deserters from the Colony ought to be much suspected by you.

You are, Sir, too well acquainted with the service and the manner that things must be conducted, to take any umbrage at the supplies which I send to Cataracouy for the subsistence of the soldiers which I have there.

You know the savages sufficiently to be well assured that it would be very imprudent on my part to leave that place without having enough of supplies and munitions there for one year's time. You are not ignorant that it is impossible to get up there at all seasons ; if I were to have them conveyed for a large force, I should have used other means.

The natural treachery of a people without faith and without religion, require us to be so far distrustful of them that you ought not to blame me for using precaution against their restlessness and caprice.

I had the honor to inform you by my letter of the 6th June last that the orders I have from my Master manifest merely the zeal which His Majesty entertains for the progress of Religion and for the support and maintenance of the Missionaries. I expect from your piety that you will not be opposed to that, knowing well how much you love Religion. Do you think, Sir, that they will reap much fruit whilst the savages are allowed no peace in the villages in which our Missionaries are established ?

When I came here, I thought Peace was assured between the Iroquois and us and our Savage allies. You see, Sir, what has

been the conduct of the Iroquois in this rencounter. Can you say, Sir, that I am wrong in distrusting them ?

They are alarmed at the war which they fancy I shall wage against them ; their conscience only could have impressed them with this idea, since I have not done the least thing to make them believe that I want any thing else from them than to see peace well established throughout all the country. What have I done to cause them the least uneasiness ? And what do they want ?

In respect to the pretensions which you say you have to the lands of this country, certainly you are not well informed of all the entries into possession (*prises de possessions*) which have been made in the name of the King my Master, and of the establishments which we have of long standing on the lands and on the lakes ; and as I have no doubt but our Masters will easily agree among themselves, seeing the union and good understanding that obtain between them, I willingly consent with you that their Majesties regulate the limits among themselves wishing nothing more than to live with you in good understanding ; but to that end, Sir, it would be very apropos that a gentleman so worthy as you should not grant protection to all the rogues, vagabonds and thieves who desert and seek refuge with you, and who, to acquire some merit with you believe they cannot do better than to tell you many impertinencies of us, which will have no end so long as you will listen to them.

The letter which the Rev. Father de Lamberville has been so kind as to be the bearer of from me on the 6th June last ought to suffice, Sir, to put you perfectly in possession of my intentions. It would be unnecessary that I should make any other reply to your last of the 22^d of May, were it not that I was very glad hereby to prove to you again that I shall always feel a great pleasure in seizing every opportunity to shew that I am

Sir,

Your very humble &
very obedient Servant.

COL. DONGAN TO M. DE DENONVILLE.

[Lond. Doc. V.; Par. Doc. III.]

New York, 27th July. 1686.

Sir—I had the honour to receive two letters from you one dated the 6th and the other the 20th of June last and in them I have found very much satisfaction by the hopes of a good correspondence with a person of so great merit worth and repute spread abroad in the army in which I served. Believe it it is much joy to have soe good a neighbour of soe excellent qualifications and temper and of a humour altogether differing from Monsieur de la Barre your predecessor who was so furious and hasty very much addicted to great words as if I had bin to have bin frightened by them. The Indians peradventure might justly offend him for they as you well remarke are not people of the greatest credit and reputation, but certainly I did not amiss in offering sincerely to compose the difference and I went expressly to Albany to do it and yet no suitable returns were made by him for it. I doubt not but your Masters inclinations are very strongly bent to propagate the Christian Religion and I do assure you that my master had no less a share in so pious intentions; for my part I shall take all imaginable care that the Fathers who preach the Holy Gospell to those Indians over whom I have power bee not in the least ill treated and upon that very accompt have sent for one of each nation to come to me and then those beastly crimes you reprove shall be checked severely and all my endeavours used to suppress their filthy drunkennesse disorders, debauches, warring and quarrels and whatsoever doth obstruct the growth and enlargement of the Christian faith amongst those people

I have heard that before ever the King your Master pretended to Cannida, the Indians so farr as the South Sea were under the English Dominion and always traded with Albany Maryland and Virginia, but that according to your desire with very good reason is wholly referred to our Masters, and I heartely pray that neither you nor mysele give occasion of any of the least misunder-

standing between them but that a prosperous correspondence strict amity and union may perpetually bee continued between those monarchs, The strickest care shall be taken concerning runaways from you and those who are here if you please to send for them shall bee all conveyed to you—but if there bee any soldiers who have deserted, I desire you to give me the assurance that they shall not loose their lives, And now, Sir. I begg your pardon for giving you the trouble of my particular affairs which is thus: when my Prince called me out of the French service twenty five thousand livres were due to me as was stated and certified to Mons^r De Lenoy by the Intendant of Nancy—my stay was so short that I had no time to kisse the King's hands and petition for itt—a very great misfortune after so long service, for in the circumstances I was then in I served him faithfully to the uttermost of my power. After I quitted France I went to Tangier and haveing left that place sometime after came hither so that I never had time to represent my case to His Majesty which I request you to espouse for me that so by your means I may obtaine either all or at least some part of that which is due to me—The King I know had bin bountifull to all and I am confident hath too much generosity to see me suffer; however it happens I shall as heartily pray for his good health and happy success in all his undertakings as any one breathing and be ever ready to make all just acknowledgements to yourselfe for so great an obligation and favour; wishing heartily for a favorable occasion to demonstrate how profound an esteem I have for your person and merrits and give undenyable proofs that I am sincerely and with all respects

Sir

Your most humble and affectionate servant

THO^s DONGAN

M. DE DENONVILLE TO GOV. DONGAN.

[Paris Doc. III.]

29 Sept. 1686.

I received by the Rev. Father de Lamberville, the elder, missionary among the Iroquois of the village of the Onontagués the letter which you took the trouble to write to me on the 27th July. I repeat, Sir, what I already had the honour to state to you that it will not be my fault that we shall not live in very good intelligence. I am willing to believe, Sir, that you will contribute thereunto on your side, and that you will put an end to all those causes that may exist for dissatisfaction at what is doing under your government by your traders and others whom you protect.

I do not believe, Sir, that the King your master approves of all the trouble you have taken in arming and soliciting by presents all the Iroquois Nation to wage war on us this year, neither the exhortations you have made them to plunder our Frenchmen who trade to places which up to the present time we have acquired long before New York was what it is.

You have proposed, Sir, to submit every thing to the decision of our Masters, yet your emissary to the Onnontagués, told all the nations in your name to pillage and to make war on us. This is so notorious a matter that it cannot be doubted, and it will be maintained before your emissary; whether he acted by your order, or at the suggestion of your merchants at Orange, it has been said and done. You are not ignorant of the expedition of your merchants against Michilimaquina. I ask you, Sir, what do you wish that I should think of all this, and if this behaviour accord with the letter which you did me the honour to write on the 27th July filled with courtesies and friendly expressions as well regarding Religion as the good understanding and friendship existing between our Masters which ought be imitated in this country in token of our respect and obedience to them.

You had the civility to tell me that you would give me up all

the deserters, who to escape the chastisement of their knaveries, take refuge with you ; yet you, Sir, cannot be ignorant of those who are there, but as all these are for the major part bankrupts and thieves I trust they will finally give you reason to repent of having given them shelter, and that your merchants who employ them will be punished for having confided in rogues who will not be more faithful to them than they have been to us.

You know, Sir, they spare neither the Outaouas, our most ancient allies, nor the other tribes among whom we have Preachers of the Gospel and with whose cruelties to our holy Missionaries, whom they have martyred, you are acquainted. Are all these reasons, Sir, not sufficiently conclusive to induce you to contribute to designs so pious as those of your Master ? Think you, Sir, that Religion will progress whilst your Merchants supply, as they do, *Eau de Vie* in abundance which converts the savages, as you ought to know, into Demons and their cabins into counterparts and theatres of Hell.

I hope, Sir, you will reflect on all this, and that you will be so good as to contribute to that union which I desire, and you wish for.

Finally, Sir, you must be persuaded that I will contribute, willingly and with pleasure, my best to obtain for you the favor you desire from the King my master. I should have wished, Sir, that you had explained your case more clearly, and that you had placed in my hands the proofs or vouchers of your debt, so as to explain it to the King, for so many things pass through the hands of Mess^{rs}. his Majesty's Ministers that I fear M. de Lonnoy will not recollect your affair, which he cannot know except through the Intendant who was at Nancy, whose name you do not mention. I shall not fail, Sir, to endeavour to obtain for you some favor from the King my master for the services which you have rendered his majesty. I should wish, Sir, to have an opportunity, on some other more fitting occasion to prove that I am,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant.

M. DE DENONVILLE'S MEMOIR

ON THE PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN CANADA AND THE NECESSITY
OF MAKING WAR NEXT YEAR ON THE IROQUOIS.

[Paris Doc. III.]

Quebec the 8th 9ber 1686.

Our reputation is absolutely destroyed both among our friends and our enemies. It is no trifling thing, My lord, to reëstablish it in view of the expense and labor and the dreadful consequences of a war, absolutely necessary. But, My lord, when we are certain that it is God's business and the King's glory that are in question, and that all those to whom they are committed have head and heart occupied only with zeal to perform their duty so as to have nothing wherewith to reproach themselves, we labour untroubled, confident that Heaven will supply the defects of our understanding and abilities, more especially having you as our Protector near to King with whom all things are possible, his piety being the foundation and motive of all his undertakings.

I annex to this Memoir, the duplicate of the letter of June last in which I advised My lord of the expedition of the Iroquois against our allies the Hurons and Ottawas of Missilimakina in the Saguinan.¹ I have learned since, that the English had more to do with that expedition than even the Iroquois who struck the blow. Their intrigues, My lord, reach a point that without doubt it would be much better that they should have recourse to open acts of hostility by firing our settlements, than to do what they are doing through the Iroquois for our destruction.

I know, beyond a moment's doubt that Mr. Dongan has caused all the Five Iroquois Nations to be collected, this spring, at Orange to tell them publicly, so as to stimulate them against us, that I want to declare war against them; that they must plunder our Frenchmen in the Bush which they can easily effect by making an incursion into the country, and for that purpose Mr. Dongan

¹ The Country between Lakes Erie and Huron was thus called. Paris Doc. iii. 84.

caused presents of arms and ammunition to be given them by the merchants, neither more nor less than if it were himself who was to make war. There is no artifice, therefore My lord, that he did not employ to persuade them of their destruction, unless they destroyed us.

Father de Lamberville, Jesuit Missionary at Onontagué, one of the five villages, being advised of the wicked designs of the English, set all his friends to work to avert the storm, and enjoining them to report every thing to him, he obtained from them that they would not budge until he had seen me. During his absence Mr. Dongan sent an express to the Iroquois to notify them to march without delay and fall on the Colony, ordering Father de Lamberville's brother, who had remained as hostage to be brought to him, thinking to deprive us of all our missionaries among the Iroquois. At the same time, he sent emissaries among our savages at Montreal to debauch them and draw them to him, promising them Missionaries to instruct them, assuring them that he would prevent Brandy being conveyed to their villages. All these intrigues have given me no small exercise all summer to ward off this blow.

Mr. Dongan wrote me, and I answered him as a man may do who wishes to dissemble, and who cannot yet get angry, much less crush his foe. I thought it better to temporise and answer Mr. Dongan by eluding rather than exhibiting one's chagrin without having the power to injure his enemy. The letters which I rec^d from him and my answers, copies of which I send, will advise you of my conduct in this conjuncture. Mr. Dongan, notwithstanding works secretly by all the artifices in the world, to debauch our Frenchmen and Indians. Col. Dongan's letters will sufficiently explain his pretensions which embrace no less than from the Lakes inclusive to the South Sea. Missilimackinac belongs to them. They have taken its elevation. They have been there treating with our Outawas and Huron Indians, who received them there very well on account of the excellent trade they made there in selling their goods for beaver which they purchase much dearer than we. Unfortunately we had at the time but very few French at Missilimackinac. M. de la Durantaye on arriving there would

pursue the English to plunder them ; the Hurons ran to escort them after saying many bad things of us. M. de la Durantaye did not overtake the English, who met on their road the Senecas going to meet them to escort them through lakes Erié and Ontario until they were beyond the risk of being attacked by us.

Thus you see, My lord, that the Senecas and the English understand each other charmingly, and are in perfect harmony and this alliance is made particularly with the army whom M. de la Barre went against, for at the time of his march the Senecas ran to Orange to find Colonel Dongan to beg him to take them under his protection, giving themselves over to him by a public Acte which was registered and sent to England, and, then, he caused poles with the arms of England to be planted in all their villages.

Nevertheless, previous to that time we had missionaries there, the first before any Englishman had an idea that there were Senecas there. I annex to this letter a memoir of our Right to all that Country of which our registers ought to be full, but of which we can find no trace. I am told that M. Tallon had originals of the entries of possession (*prises de possessions*) of many discoveries made in this country, which our registers ought to contain. Doubtless he has given them to my late lord, your father.

Father de Lamberville having given me an account of all the Colonel's intrigues which tended to take the Hurons away from us and to draw off the Outawas, I entrusted him with presents to gain over the principal and most intriguing of the Iroquois to secure the friendship of the young men who were disposed to be out of humor with us. He arrived in very good season, for all the Nations, assured by Mr. Dongan that the good Father would not return, had assembled and were marching, but his return woke up the Father's party, who by means of secret, which are called here "underground" presents, dispelled the storm.

All the summer has been spent in comings and goings to get back the prisoners, the Outawas wishing to demand them of the Iroquois without my participation, according to the promises of the Senecas to restore them, provided I did not demand them. In fine the Hurons and the Outawas resolved to repair to Cataraqui, and the Onontagués alone have given up their prisoners, the

Senecas saying that theirs did not wish to return home. Father de Lamberville returned here in the latter part of September, he gave me an account of all his cares, and of all his troubles and fatigues. Whatever affection he may have for the mission where he has been stationed fifteen or sixteen years every year in danger of being killed by the Iroquois, he admits himself that nothing is to be done for the mission unless that nation be humbled. This, My lord, is so true that the Iroquois have no other design than to destroy all our allies, one after the other, in order afterwards to annihilate us; and in that consists all the policy of Mr. Dongan and his Traders, who have no other object than to post themselves at Niagara, to block us; but until now they have not dared to touch that string with the Iroquois, who dread and hate their domination more than ours, loving them not, in truth, except on account of their cheap bargains.

Mr. Dongan caresses considerably those deserters of ours whom he requires to execute his designs for the destruction and ruin of our trade by promoting his own. This wakes up our restless spirits and obliges me to manage them, until I shall be in a position to treat them more severely. You will notice, My lord, by a letter of the Colonel's how desirous he is for something from the King which he says is due to him. He is a very selfish man, who would assuredly govern himself thereby if you thought proper; but the fact is he is not the master of those merchants from whom he draws money.

Father de Lamberville has returned with orders from me to assemble all the Iroquois nations next spring at Cataraqui to have a talk about our affairs. I am persuaded that scarcely any will come, but my chief design is to draw [them] thither, (the Jesuit Father remaining alone for he must this year send back his younger brother,) in order that he may have less trouble in withdrawing himself. This poor Father knows, however, nothing of our designs. He is a man of talent, and who says himself that matters cannot remain in their present state. I am very sorry to see him exposed, but if I withdraw him this year the storm without doubt will burst sooner on us, for they would be sure of our plans by his retiring.

I have advices, notwithstanding, that the Five Nations are making a large war party, supposed to be against the Oumiamis and other savages of the Bay *des Puans* who were attacked this year, one of their villages having been destroyed by the Iroquois; on receiving notice thereof the hunters of those tribes pursued the Iroquois party whom they overtook and fought with considerable vigor, having recovered several prisoners and killed many of the Iroquois, who without doubt pant for revenge. I sent them word, to be on their guard and to have their women and children removed to a distance when they will be required to march to join me. I say nothing to you of what they have done to the Illinois whom they spare not, having since two years committed vast destruction on them.

Nothing more, My lord, is required to convince you that we cannot hesitate, and that the Colony must be put down as lost if war is not waged next year; they destroy on all sides our allies who are on the point of turning their backs on us if we do not declare for them. The Iroquois plunder our canoes wherever they find them, and no longer observe appearances. Nevertheless, My lord, in the deranged state of the Colony, war is the most dangerous thing in the world; nothing can save us but the troops you will send and the redoubts which it is necessary for us to build. Yet, I dare not begin to work at these, for if I make the least movement for these Redoubts, I will assuredly draw all the Iroquois down on us, before I am in a condition to attack them.

The copy I transmit of the orders I have issued for our next year's expedition will advise you of all the measures I have adopted to ensure the success of our plans. The distance is terrible and success is in the hands of God. If you will be pleased, My lord, to take the trouble to read all these orders with the Map which I send, you will perceive all my projects. I have over-rated a little the number of the force I shall have with me, in order to give a little more character to our expedition. I cannot draw more than eight hundred militia, one hundred of the best of whom will be required to manage the fifty canoes for convoys. These will do nothing else than come and go during our expedition to transport provisions for our troops and for those

whom we shall station during the winter at the Post which we must occupy either at Niagara or near the Senecas, to serve as a retreat for those of our Indians who will be desirous to harass them during the winter and the following year. Without this nothing effectual will have been done to humble this Nation, for to be satisfied in driving them from their villages and then to retire, is not accomplishing any great thing, as they immediately return and re-establish themselves in their Villages.

As you, My lord, are perfectly acquainted with the ruinous condition of this Colony, you understand very well the deplorable consequences of this war which require that the settlements be contracted, and it is here we must anticipate many difficulties; for in truth the establishment of the Colony would have to be almost begun over again, and this it is which causes me repeat the demand that I have already made for regular troops to support our *habitans*, and to occupy the posts necessary to be guarded, without which I cannot preserve many points very requisite to be protected; among others Chambly, where I should like to station a strong post, because it is the most important pass to reach the English by lake Champlain. That post will moreover always be a subject of uneasiness to the Indians who would incline to cross the River Richelieu thence to our settlements on the River St. Francis; in addition to which, communicating as it does with that of la Prairie de la Madelaine, would secure, in some sort, all the country from Sorel unto la Prairie de la Madelaine. Reflect again, My lord, if you please, how important is that post of Bout de l'Isle de Mont Real, that of Chateaugué, that of la Chesnaye and that of l'Isle Jesus.

I say nothing, My lord, of all the other settlements that are isolated and without communication, which we must endeavor to secure from insult. Those details, My lord, require considerable troops, which could not fail to greatly advance this country by laboring to draw (*resserer*) the Colony closer together and make it more compact, by means of forts around which clearances would be made.

All this, My lord, is no trifling work to be prepared. For what certainty can there be of destroying so powerful an enemy

as that Nation which has assuredly two thousand men under arms independent of a large number of other tribes their allies, estimated at twelve hundred? The vast extent of forest into which they will retreat and where Indians alone can pursue them; the uncertainty of the strength of the Indians which we shall have with us; the difficulty of rendezvousing so far off—all these considerations ought to make us reflect on the means of sustaining ourselves in case we should not meet that success we may desire, and which cannot come without a manifest interposition of Heaven for the success of projects so scattered.

It is very certain that were I in a position to be able to send a strong detachment to the Mohawk Country by the River Richelieu whilst I was proceeding against the Senecas, not only should I create considerable alarm among the English which would keep them at home, but I would obtain a great advantage over the Iroquois by separating and pillaging them and laying waste their corn fields at both ends of the Iroquois towns. It would be very desirable that I could destroy all the corn in the same year, so that the one could no longer support the other; this would reduce them to great wretchedness and would put a burthen on the English, if they sought a refuge there for means to live. Had I a sufficiency of troops I should not fail to undertake that enterprize, but having only what I have, I must attack one after the other, and endeavour to raise another army, which it is impossible to effect at first. 'Tis true, were all done at once it would be much better, and promote our expedition and dishearten our enemies considerably.

I am very sorry, My lord, to witness all the expence necessary for the support of Fort Cataracouy, merely with a garrison of fifty men. It is very unfortunate that the lands thereabout are not better, so that it might support itself. I am not yet sufficiently well informed of the environs to be able to write you with sufficient accuracy all that could be effected there; notwithstanding it is of great consequence to preserve that Post at the entrance to the Lake, though the Posts in this Country do not command the passages so completely that the Savages cannot avoid them, two or three leagues either above or below. Yet that Post, and

one at Niagara would render us entire masters, and keep the Iroquois in great check and respect, and give us immense advantages in our trade with the Illinois and Outtawas ; that road being shorter, and much less difficult than the one we take, in which there is an infinitude of portages and rapids, much more dangerous than those on the Cataracouy side.

The letters I wrote to Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye, of which I sent you copies, will inform you of my orders to them to fortify the two passes leading to Michilimaquina. Sieur du Lhu is at that of the Detroit of Lake Erie, and Sieur de la Durantaye at that of the portage of Taronto. These two Posts will block the passage against the English, if they undertake to go again to Michilimaquina, and will serve as retreats to the Savages our allies, either while hunting or marching against the Iroquois.

I send you again, My lord, copy of the orders I have issued for the assembling, marching and repairing of our Savage allies to Niagara with Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye. You will, also, see, My lord, the orders I have issued for marching the Illinois in the rear of the Iroquois. It looks very well on paper, but the business is yet to be executed. Many difficulties may be encountered as well in regard to the nature of the Savages who are little accustomed to obedience and the prosecution of a design during several months, which are required to reach the rear of the Senecas from their country. Chevalier Tonty, who came to see me at Montreal in the month of July last, has taken charge of all these matters. I gave him twenty good Canadians, with eight canoes loaded with one hundred and fifty muskets, which was all I could collect in the country. He carries powder and lead and other things for the trade. Had the guns you sent me arrived I should have given him a good number. He left at the end of August and calculates to arrive at Fort St. Louis¹ before the departure of the hunters. He could not assure me of the number of Savages he could bring with him, but I'm certain he will make great exertions to succeed in this affair in which he will participate largely if the Indians will allow themselves to

¹ Now Peoria, Ill.

be governed and led by him. I cannot sufficiently praise his zeal for the success of this enterprize. He is a lad of great enterprize and boldness, who undertakes considerable. He left Fort des Illinois last February to seek after M de la Salle at the lower end of the Mississippi. He has been as far as the sea, where he learned nothing of M. de la Salle except that some Savages had seen him set sail and go towards the South. He returned on the receipt of this intelligence to Fort St. Louis des Illinois, and thence to Montreal where he arrived in the beginning of July with two Illinois Chiefs, to whom I had made some presents, and to another who had not come. They promised me wonders. Nothing remains but the execution which is in the hands of God, for according to what I'm told of the temper of these Savages, a mere nothing sometimes is only necessary to cause them to change their minds. He will have about twenty good Canadians with him to march at the head of the Indians, which he hopes will encourage them. He will have to walk three hundred leagues over land, for those Savages are not accustomed to canoes (*ne sont pas gens de Canot.*)

I should have greatly desired to shorten my letters to you. But, My lord, as it is necessary to inform you of the state of our affairs and to render you an account of my conduct, I thought I would send you all the orders as I had issued them, so that I might be corrected if I fail in any respect, being very anxious to satisfy you.

I receive letters from the most distant quarters; from the head of the River Mississippi, from the head of Lake Superior, from Lake des Lenemyngon¹ where they propose wonders to me by establishing posts for the Missions and for the Beavers which abound there. But in truth so long as the interior of the Colony is not consolidated and secured, nothing certain can be expected from all those distant posts where hitherto people have lived in great disorder and in a manner to convert our best Canadians into banditti. All these distant posts cannot maintain themselves except from the interior of the Colony, and by a secure communi-

¹ Most probably, Lake Aleminpigon of the old maps; now L. St. Ann, north of Lake Superior.

cation with them from here. Whilst we have the Iroquois on our hands, can we be certain of any thing? Solicited by the English, they daily plunder our canoes and openly declare they will continue (to do so) being unwilling that we should carry ammunition to the Savages, their enemies and our allies.

The principal affair at present is the security of this Colony which is in evident danger of perishing whether the Iroquois be let alone or we make war without having a decided advantage over them, and however decided ours may be, the people separated as they are will always be in danger. Yet My lord, if you aid us with troops, war will be the least inconvenience, for if we do not wage it, I do not believe that the next year will pass away without the whole trade being absolutely lost; the savages, our friends, would revolt against us, and place themselves at the mercy of the Iroquois, more powerful because better armed, than any of them. The whole of the Hurons are waiting only for the moment to do it. Had I not by the care of Father de Lamberville fortunately avoided the war this year, not a single canoe would have come down from the forests without having been captured and plundered in the river of the Outtawas. We should have lost a great number of good men.

This, My lord, is a long narrative about the state of the affairs of the country with the Iroquois which absolutely require that we wage war without longer delay. Every person sees its necessity so clearly that those concur in it now, who had been hitherto the most opposed to it. I hope that on the sketch I give you of our wants, you will aid us both in men and other necessaries. In regard to troops, My lord, I had the honor to ask you for Regulares, for in truth the employment of people picked up any where is very unwise. It requires time to make them fit for service and on their arrival they will have to take arms in their hands and drill. If you propose to send us some it would be well to have them arrive about the end of May which is the season when the North West winds prevail in our River. For that reason, the ships ought to leave Rochelle in the month of March. Sieur Dambour, one of our best ship captains that come to Canada, can give good advice thereupon.

Our march cannot begin before the fifteenth of May, for we must let the sowing be finished, and the storms before that time are furious on our river and lake Ontario. I say nothing of the risks to be incurred that the harvest will not be saved next year on account of the war, nor of the necessity of making store-houses. By sending us troops, many things will be done of which we dare not dream if you do not send any.

A few days since a man named Antoine L'Epinart, an old resident among the Dutch, at present among the English, came to Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal in search of a child he had boarding with the Jesuits. He reports that the English kept watch three months this summer, our deserters having told them that I would attack them for having armed the Iroquois against us. He also says, that the Iroquois are drawing to them the Loups (Mohegans) and other tribes toward the Andastes, with whom they are forming alliances; he believed the Iroquois had evil intentions towards us—that the English who had been to the Outtawas had been well received and invited to return among them with merchandize, and well nigh procured from the Iroquois the restitution of their prisoners, by which means they will be more attached to them than to us; that the Merchants at Orange had urgently entreated Colonel Dongan to request the Senecas to surrender the prisoners; that the Colonel had convoked a meeting of the Five Nations who went together to see him; that it is the general belief that the Colonel will obtain satisfaction of the Iroquois and thus the English will attract to them both the Outtawas and the Hurons and that their cheap bargains will ruin our trade. The said Antonie L'Epinart assures moreover, that there is a Company of fifty men formed to go to Missilimakina; that their canoes were purchased, and that the low state of the waters had prevented them starting; that they waited only the rising of the rivers by the rain; and that the Senecas promised to escort them.

I have heard that Sieur du Lhu is arrived at the post at Detroit of Lake Erié, with fifty good men well armed, with munitions of war and provisions and all other necessities sufficient to guarantee them against the severe cold and to render them com-

fortable during the whole winter on the spot where they will entrench themselves. M. de la Durantaye is collecting people to entrench himself at Michilimaquina and to occupy the other pass which the English may take by Taronto, the other entrance to Lake Huron. In this way our Englishmen will find some body to speak to.

All this cannot be accomplished without considerable expense, but still we must maintain our honour and our prosperity.

The Oumeamies and other savages of the Bay des Puans have expressed much joy to me on learning that Sieur du Lhu was posted at Detroit, but I am very sorry to hear that Tonty has learned on the road that these same savages had quarrelled with the Illinois, which would prevent the Illinois attacking the rear of the Senecas, as we had projected. It would, in truth be an afflicting circumstance to see our allies devouring one another instead of uniting with us to destroy the common enemy. But it is useless to be vexed at it. Nothing remains but to be prepared for every thing that may happen, and rely only on ourselves. If God give us the advantage, the people will rouse to our aid.

My lord ought to place no reliance on the changeable disposition of a people without discipline, or any sort of subordination. The King must be the master in this country to effect any sort of good, and success cannot be secured without expense.

THE M. DE DENONVILLE.

M. DE DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER.

[From the same.]

Quebec, 16th Nov. 1686.

My Lord,—Since my letters were written a very intelligent man whom I sent to Manat, who has conversed and had much intercourse with Colonel Dongan, reports to me that the said Colonel has despatched fifty citizens of Orange and Manat among whom are some Frenchmen, to winter with the Senecas whence they will depart, at the close of the winter, under the escort of

the Senecas, for Michilimaquina, carrying with them the Huron prisoners to restore them on the part of the English Governor, who is desirous to prevail on the Outaouas, by the service which he renders them, to abandon our alliance in order to attach themselves to the English. They carry an abundance of merchandise thither to furnish it at a much lower rate than we.

This is not all. Colonel Dongan has given orders that one hundred and fifty other English should depart, accompanied by several Mohegan Indians to follow the first fifty Englishmen with goods. But this detachment is not to leave until spring. I believe there is no room to doubt but the design is to seize the post of Niagara. Were the English once established there, they must be driven off or we must bid adieu to the whole trade of the country.

* * * * *

The same man who came from Manat told me that within a short time fifty or sixty men, Huguenots, arrived there from the Islands of St. Christophers and Martinique, who are establishing themselves at Manat and its environs. I know that some have arrived at Boston from France. There, again, are people to operate as Banditti.

Whilst writing this, My lord, further advice is come from Orange that Colonel Dongan sent to tell the fifty men who are to winter among the Senecas, not to leave until the arrival at the Senecas of the one hundred and fifty men which he is to despatch in the spring to support them. The reason of this order is that he has learned by Indians that the Sieur Du Lhut is posted at the Detroit of Lake Erié. If those men commanded with the savages attack that post, you perceive, my lord, that I have nothing more to manage with the English. Send me, if you please, orders on this point, for my disposition is to go straight to Orange, drive them into their fort, and burn the whole.

* * * * *

The English governor prompted at present by the cupidity of the merchants and by his avarice to drag money from them, pretends that all the country is his, and will trade thither though an Englishman has never been there. He gives passes under pretext of hunting, to his creatures, from whom one was taken at Michi-

limaquina, which I would have sent, had he who was bringing it, not upset in the water and been thereby drowned.

* * * * *

Whilst writing this letter here, My lord, I receive from Fatlier de Lamberville confirmation of the news which I had the honor to communicate to you respecting Colonel Dongan. I send you what he writes me of the speech made by the said Colonel to the Iroquois assembled by his order at Manat. Be so good as to read it yourself my lord.¹

COL. DONGAN TO M. DE DENONVILLE.

[Par. Doc. III.; Lond. Doc. V.]

1 Decem. 1686.

Sir—I had the honour to receive your letter of the first of October 1686 and had sooner sent an answer, butt that I wanted a convenient opportunity to do itt, I find you was angry at the writing and therefore for fear it was ill turned into French for I have no great skill in your language, have sent a copy of it in English. I desire you to continue in your opinion that nothing shall bee wanting on my part that may contribute to a good and friendly correspondence, and that I will not protect either merchant or others that shall give any just occasion to suspect it. Bee assured, Sir, that I have not solicited nor bribed the Indians to arme and make warr against you, all the paines I have taken hath bin to keep those people in quiet who are so inclinable to warr that one word is enough for them. I have forbidden their joining (if they should be entreated) with any others against you neither have I ever allowed any to plunder I have only permitted severall of Albany to trade amongst the remotest Indians with strict orders not to meddle with any of your people, and I hope they will finde the same civillity from you—It being so farr from pillageing that I beleieve it as lawfull for the English as French nations to trade there we being nearer by many leagues than you are—I desire

¹ See postea, "Susquehanna Papers;" for an extract from this speech.

you to send me word who it was that pretended to have my orders for the Indians to plunder and fight you : that I am altogether as ignorant of any enterprise made by the Indians out of this Government as I am of what you meane by " mihillmiquim " and neither have I acted any thing contrary to what I have written, but will stricktly endeavour to immitate the amnity and friendship between our masters—I have desired you to send for the deserters, I know not who they are but had rather such Rascalls and Bankrounts as you call them were amongst their own countrymen than this people, and will when you send word who they are, expell, not detain them and use all possible means to preuent your good wishes and hopes that our merchants may suffer by them—Tis true I ordered our Indians if they should meet with any of your people or ours on this side of the lake without a passe from you or me, that they should bring them to Albany and that as I thought by your own desire expressed in your letter, they being as you have very well remarked very ill people and such that usually tell lyes as well to Christians as Heathens, The Missionary Fathers if they please but do me justice can give you an account how careful I have bin to preserve them, I have ordered our Indians strictly not to exercise any cruelty or insolence against them and have written to the King my master who hath as much zeal as any prince living to propagate the Christian faith and assure him how necessary it is to send hither some Fathers to preach the Gospell to the natives allyed to us and care would be then taken to dissuade them from their drunken debouches though certainly our Rum doth as little hurt as your Brandy and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome: however to keep the Indians temperate and sober is a very good and Christian performance but to prohibit them all strong liquors seemes a little hard and very turkish—What I wrote concerning what was due to me for my service in France was very true, Mons^r Charnell, the Intendant at Nancy, adjusted and sent them to Mons^r Lenoy signed by himsele and me and I gave the copies of them to Mons^r Pagaion living in the street of St Hone to putt them into the hands of Mons^r Carillon Chaplaine to the Duchesse of Orleans, but, Sir, you need not to trouble yourself about itt for I intend to get it represented out of

England and doubt not but the King your master who is so bountiful a prince will be so just as to pay what became my due by a great deal of fatigue and labour, however I humbly thank you for the civill obliging offers you make and doe assure you shall bee heartily glad of any occasion to requite them desiring you to believe I earnestly wish and contend for the union (you say) you desire and will contribute all in my power to promote and preserve it which is all the reflection I shall make on your letter being—

Sir, assuredly with all due respect your most humble
and affectionate

servant—T. DONGAN.

MEMOIR FOR THE MARQUIS OF SEIGNELAY

REGARDING THE DANGERS THAT THREATEN CANADA, THE MEANS OF
REMEDYING THEM, AND OF FIRMLY ESTABLISHING RELIGION COM-
MERCE AND THE KING'S POWER IN NORTH AMERICA. JANUARY 1687.

[Paris Doc. III.]

CANADA is encompassed by many powerful English Colonies who labour incessantly to ruin it, by exciting all our savages, and drawing them away with their peltries for which the English give them a great deal more merchandize than the French, because they pay no duty to the King of England. This profit attracts towards the English, also, all our Bush rangers (*Coueurs de bois*) and French libertines who carry their peltries to them, deserting our Colony and establishing themselves in those of the English who take great pains to attract them.

They advantageously employ these French deserters to bring the far savages to them who formerly brought their peltries into our Colony which wholly destroys its trade.

The English began by the most powerful and best disciplined [Indians] of all America. They have excited them entirely against us by the avowed protection they afford them, and the manifest usurpation they claim to the sovereignty of their country, which belongs beyond contradiction to the King for nearly a century

without the English having up to this present time had any pretension to it.

They also employ the Iroquois to incite all our other Indians against us. They set them last year to attack the Hurons and the Outawas, our most antient subjects; swept by surprise from them more than 75 prisoners among whom were some of their principal Chiefs, killed several others, and finally offered them peace and the restitution of their prisoners, if they would quit the French and acknowledge the English.

They sent the same Iroquois to attack the Illinois and the Miamis our allies who are in the neighbourhood of Fort St. Louis, built by Mons^r de la Salle on the Illinois River which empties into the River Colbert or Mississippi; massacred and burnt a great number of them and carried off many prisoners with threats of entire extermination if they would not unite with them against the French.

Colonel Dongan, Governor of New York, has pushed this usurpation to the point of sending Englishmen to take possession, in the King of England's name, of the post of Mislimakinac which is a Strait communicating between lake Huron and lake des Illinois, and has even declared that all those lakes including the river St. Lawrence which serves as an outlet to them and on which our Colony is settled, belong to the English.

The Reverend Father Lamberville, a French Jesuit who has been 18 years a Missionary among the Iroquois in company with one of his brothers also a Jesuit, wrote on the first of November to Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal, who informed the Governor General that Colonel Dongan has assembled the Five Iroquois Nations at Manatte where he resides, and declared to them as follows:

1. That he forbids them to go to Cataracouy or Fort Frontenac and to have any more intercourse with the French.
2. That he orders them to restore the prisoners they took from the Hurons and Outawacs, in order to attract them to himself.
3. That he sends thirty English to take possession of Missilimakinac and the lakes, rivers and adjoining lands and orders the Iroquois to escort them and to afford them physical assistance.

4. That he has sent to recal the Iroquois Christians belonging to the Mohawk tribe, who have settled a long time ago at Saut Saint Louis, adjoining the Island of Montreal, where they have been established by us and converted by the care of our Reverend Jesuit Fathers, and that he would give them other land and an English Jesuit, to govern them.

5. That he wishes that they should have Missionaries only from him throughout the whole of the Five Iroquois Nations, and that they cause our French Jesuits to withdraw, who have been so long established there.

6. That if Monsieur de Denonville attacks them, he will have to do with him.

7. That he orders them to plunder all the French who will visit them ; to bind them and bring them to him, and what they'll take from them shall be good prize.

THE IROQUOIS. — He accompanied his orders with presents to the Five Iroquois Nations, and despatched his thirty English, escorted by Iroquois, to make an establishment at Missilimakinak.

The Iroquois pillage our Frenchmen every where they meet them, and threaten to fire their settlements which are much exposed and unfortified.

These measures, and the discredit we are in among all the savages for having abandoned our allies in M. de la Barre's time, for having suffered them to be exterminated by the Iroquois and borne the insults of the latter, render war against them absolutely necessary to avert from us a General Rebellion of the Savages which would bring ruin on our trade and finally the extirpation of our Colony.

It is likewise necessary for the establishment of Religion which will never spread itself there, except by the destruction of the Iroquois : so that on the success of the war which the Governor-general of Canada proposes to commence against the Iroquois on the 15th of May next, depends either the Ruin of the Country and of Religion if he be not assisted, or the Establishment of Religion, Commerce and the Kings' Power over all North America if he be granted the aid he demands.

If the merit in the eyes of God, the Glory and utility which the King will derive from this succor be considered, it is easy to conclude that expense was never better employed since, independent of the Salvation of the quantity of Souls in that vast Country to which His Majesty will contribute by establishing the Faith there, he will secure to himself an Empire of more than a thousand leagues in extent, from the mouth of the River Saint Lawrence to that of the River Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico; a country discovered by the French alone, to which other nations have no right, and from which we shall eventually derive great Commercial advantages, and a considerable augmentation of His Majesty's Revenues in those countries.

The Marquis de Denonville, whose zeal, industry and capacity admit of no addition, requires a reinforcement of 1500 men to succeed in his enterprize. If less be granted him, success is doubtful and a war is made to drag along, the continuation of which for many years will cost His Majesty more to sustain than would the immediate expense necessary to guarantee its success and prompt termination.

It is necessary to attack the Iroquois in two directions. The first and principal attack, through the Seneca Nation on the borders of Lake Ontario; the second, by the River Richelieu and Lake Champlain on the side of the Mohawk Nation. 3000 Frenchmen will be required for that purpose. Of these there are sixteen companies which make 800 men and 800 selected from the *habitans*, 100 of the best of which the Governor General destines to conduct 50 canoes which will go and come incessantly to convey provisions. Of these 3000 Frenchmen, of which he has only the half though he boasts of more for reputation's sake, because the other *habitans* are necessary to protect and cultivate the farms of the Colony, a part must be employed in guarding the posts of Fort Frotenac, Niagara, Toronto, Missilimakinak so as to secure the aid he expects from the Illinois and other Savages, on whom however he cannot rely unless he will be able alone to defeat the Five Iroquois Nations.

The Iroquois force consists of two thousand picked warriors (*d'elite*) brave, active, more skilful in the use of the gun than

our Europeans and all well armed ; besides twelve hundred Mohegans (*Loups*), another tribe in alliance with them as brave as they, not including the English who will supply them with officers to lead them, and to fortify them in their villages.

If they be not attacked all at once at the two points indicated, it is impossible to destroy them or to drive them from their retreat, but if encompassed on both sides, all their plantations of Indian corn will be destroyed, their villages burnt, their women, their children and old men captured and other warriors driven into the woods where they will be pursued and annihilated by the other savages.

After having defeated and dispersed them the winter must be spent in fortifying the post of Niagara, the most important in America, by means of which all the other nations will be shut out from the lakes whence all the peltries are obtained ; it will be necessary to winter troops at this post and at others, to prevent the Iroquois returning and reëstablishing themselves there, and to people these beautiful countries with other savages who will have served under us during this war.

EXTRACT FROM A MEMOIR OF THE KING

TO SIEURS MARQUIS DE DENONVILLE AND DE CHAMPIGNY, DATED
VERSAILLES, 30th MARCH, 1687.

[Paris Doc. III.]

* * * * *

His Majesty has no knowledge of the claim of Colonel D'Unguent for 25^m lbs which he pretends to be due him in France ; therefore He has nothing to say about it.

* * * * *

His Majesty has seen the Memoir that the said Sieur de Denonville has sent of the measures he has adopted and the orders he has given for the ensuing campaign. He approves of them and doubts not of success, and that it will be as favorable as can be expected having to do only with Savages who have no experience

as to regular war, whilst, on the contrary, those he will be able to collect, being led by a man so capable and so experienced as he is, will be of great utility.

Finally, He expects to learn at the close of this year, the entire destruction of the greatest part of those Savages. And as a number of prisoners may be made, and His Majesty thinks he can make use of them in his Galleys, He desires him to manage so as to retain them until he have vessels for France; by the return of His Majesty's Ships which will convey the troops he can, even, send those which will have been captured before the departure of these ships.

COLL. DONGAN TO FATHER DE LAMBERVILLE.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

20 May. 1687,

Reverend Father—I have received yours of the tenth currant from the Onondages and am heartily glad that you are in good health and as much as lyes in me you may bee assured I will do all my endeavors to protect you from the danger you apprehend from those people and all those others of your fraternity that continue in doing good service, I am sorry that our Indians are soe troublesome to the Indians of Cannida but I am informed from Christians that it is the custom of those people, that what country they conquer belongs to them as their own, yet I lay no stress on that, but I am still in doubt whither that land where the Indians goes to warr belongs to our King or to the King of France, but in all probability if I bee truly informed it must depend on the King of England territories it lying west and by south of this place and your countryes lye to the northward of us but that is no material reason for the Indians to disturbe the people of Canada and I will use my endeavour that they shall disturbe them no more but leave the decision of that to my master at home as I leave all other things which relates to any difference between us and the people of Canada and I am sure that Mon^{sr} de Noville will do the same—

I have not spoke to the Indians as yet. Your messenger being in hast cannot give an account what they can say for themselves, but to continue a right understanding between the Government of Canada and this if any of the Indians will doe any thing to disturbe the King of France's subjects, let the Governour sent to me and I will doe all the justice that is possible for me to do and if he will do the same it will be a meane to keep those people in, and to see both Governments in a good correspondence one with another. But I hear they pretend that they are affraid of the French but I hope that Monsr de Nonville will well weigh the business before he invades any of the King of England's subjects—I have no time to write to him at present but assure him of my humble service and that I will write to him before I goe, having no other businesse here in sending for the Indians but to check them for offering to disturbe the people of Canada

Reverend Father

I am your humble servant

(Signed) THO: DONGAN

I pray you to pray to God for me

M. DE DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER.

[Par. Doc. III.]

8 June 1687.

I am informed that the English have given notice to the Senecas that I am going to attack them, and have obliged them to run after six hundred men of their tribe who were at war against the Miamis, our allies, to induce them to return to defend their country against us. Other war parties who had gone against the people towards Virginia have also returned through the same troubles. The consternation of our enemies thus costs Colonel Dongan very dear. I have learned that a party has come from Virginia who brought a dozen prisoners, Englishmen, whom they will also burn, and this is a matter about which Monsieur Dongan gives himself scarce any trouble.

COLL. DONGAN TO M. DE DENONVILLE.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

11th June 1687.

Sir—The enclosed¹ came to my hands last night from England with orders to have it proclaimed which has accordingly bin done, what is there agreed upon I will observe to the least title and I doubt not but your Excell: will do the same and I hope bee so kinde as not desire or seek any correspondence with our Indians of this side of the Great Lake if they doe amisse to any of your Govern^t and you make it known to me you shall have all justice done and if any of your people disturbe us I will have the same recourse to you for satisfaction as for those further Nations, I suppose that to trade with them is free and common to us all until the meets and bounds bee adjusted though truly the scituation of those partes bespeakes the King of England to have a greater right to them than the French king, they lying to the southward of us just on the back of other partes of our King's dominions and a very great way from you. I am informed by some of our Indians that your Excell: was pleased to desire them to meet you at Cadaraque; I could hardly beleive it till I had a letter from Father Lamberville, wherein he informs me that 'tis true, I am also informed of your Fathers' endeavours dayly to carry away our Indians to Canada as you have already done a great many, you must pardon me if I tell you that that is not the right way to keepe fair correspondence—I have also been informed that you are told I have given to Indians orders to rob the French wherever they could meet them, that is as false as tis true that God is in heaven, what I have done was by your own desire which was that I should suffer none of Canada to come to Albany without they had your passe in compliance wherewith I ordered, both, the Indians and people of Albany that if they found any French or English on this side of the great Lake without either your passe or mine, they should seize them and bring them to

1 Treaty of Neutrality.

fifty Iroquois taken near that place, to forward them to France in the King's Ships, conformably to his orders. I'll take advantage of the delay of the *Fourgon*, in which I shall have them embarked, and as the crew is too few to convey so many prisoners, very difficult to be guarded, I reinforce them by some passengers and sailors from a merchantman, the *Catharine*, which was wrecked last autumn near Tadoussac, and could not be got off.

M. DE DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER.

ATTACK ON THE SENECA; ERECTION OF FORT NIAGARA.

[Paris Doc. III.]

Ville Marie, 25 August, 1687.

The first thing with which I occupied myself on my arrival [at Irondequoit Bay] was to select a post easy to be fortified for securing our batteaux to the number of 200 and as many canoes. We cut 2000 palisades which we finished planting in the forenoon of the 12th of July.

I had brought with me *Sieur d'Orvilliers* as the fittest to receive the whole of Canada into his hands; for the loss of this post would be the assured loss of the whole country which obliged me to leave 440 men there.

On the 12th I departed at three o'clock in the evening with all our French and Indian allies and Christians having caused them to take 15 days provisions. We only made three leagues that day across the woods which are very open.

On the 13th about four o'clock in the afternoon, having passed through two dangerous defiles, we arrived at the third where we were very vigorously attacked by 800 Senecas, 200 of whom fired, wishing to attack our rear whilst the remainder of their force would attack our front, but the resistance they met produced such a great consternation that they soon resolved to fly. All our troops were so overpowered by the extreme heat and the long journey we had made that we were obliged to bivouac on the field until the morrow. We witnessed the painful

sight of the usual cruelties of the savages who cut the dead into quarters, as in slaughter houses, in order to put them into the pot; the greater number were opened while still warm that their blood might be drunk. Our rascally Otaous distinguished themselves particularly by these barbarities and by their poltroonery, for they withdrew from the combat; the Hurons of Michilimaquina did very well, but our Christian Indians surpassed all and performed deeds of valour, especially our Iroquois of whom we durst not make sure having to fight against their relatives. The Illinois performed their duty well. We had five or six men killed on the spot, French and Indians, and about twenty wounded, among the first of whom was the Rev: Fath: Angleran, superintendent of the Otaous missions, by a very severe gunshot. It is a great misfortune to us that this wound will prevent him going back again, for he is a man of capacity, of great influence who has conducted every thing at Michilimaquina well, and to whom the country owes vast obligations. For had it not been for him the Iroquois had been long since established at Michilimaquina.

We learned from some prisoners who had escaped from the Senecas that this action cost them 45 men killed on the field, 25 of whom we had seen at the shambles; the others were seen buried by this deserter, and over 60 very severely wounded.

On the next day, 14th July, we marched to one of the large villages where we encamped. We found it burned and a fort quite nigh, abandoned; it was very advantageously situated on a hill.

I deemed it our best policy to employ ourselves laying waste the Indian corn which was in vast abundance in the fields, rather than follow a flying enemy to a distance and excite our troops to catch only some straggling fugitives.

We learned from deserters that the Senecas had gone to the English where they will not be allowed to want for any thing necessary to make war on us. Since that time I have had no news of the enemy.

We remained at the four Seneca villages until the 24th; the two larger distant 4 leagues, and the others two. All that time was spent in destroying the corn which was in such great abundance that the loss, including old corn which was in *cache* which

we burnt and that which was standing, was computed according to the estimate afterwards made, at 400 thousand minots of Indian corn.¹ These four villages must exceed 14 to 15 thousand souls. There was a vast quantity of hogs which were killed; a great many both of our Indians and French were attacked with a general rheum which put every one out of humor.

'Tis an unfortunate trade, my lord, to command savages who, after the first broken head ask only to return home carrying with them the scalp which they lift off like a leather cap. You cannot conceive the trouble I had to detain them until the corn was cut.

During the whole time we were in the Senecas country we did not see a single enemy, which caused me divers alarms lest they had been at our batteaux, but terror and consternation deterred them too much from effecting their first threats.

Returning to our batteaux I should have greatly wished to have been able to visit other villages, but the sickness, the extreme fatigue among all and the uneasiness of the savages who began to disband, determined me to proceed to Niagara to erect a fort there in their presence, and point out to them a sure asylum to encourage them to come this winter to war in small bodies.

I selected the angle of the Lake on the Seneca side of the river; it is the most beautiful, the most pleasing and the most advantageous site that is on the whole of this Lake, the Map and plan of which you will have if *Sieur de Ville Marie* will take the trouble, for I tormented him considerably for it; I sent him expressly to Quebec that he may have nothing else to do.

This post being in a state of defence I left a hundred men there under the command of *Sieur de Troyes* who made the Northern expedition last year. He is a worthy fellow who richly deserves some share in the honour of your good graces and protection. He can be very useful to you in many things; he is prudent and intelligent, very willing, and has well served on land.

This post has caused much joy to all our farther Indians, who having no place of retreat, scarcely dared to approach the enemy. They have made me great promises—especially our Illinois—to harass them this winter by a number of small parties.

¹ A minot is equal to three bushels.

M. de Tonty had returned with them designing to invite them to come. He could collect only very few savages because an alarm had been spread among them of a large body of Senecas having departed last fall on a war expedition against them, which fell through on the information Mr. Dongan gave the Senecas that I was about to attack them; yet, as this large force had marched six days, it was the cause that of six @ 700 savages on whom we relied, only 80 came, which was the reason of their having been obliged to come to the fort of Detroit to join Sieurs du L'hut and de la Durantaye not being able to take the Senecas in the rear.

On quitting Niagara I left M. de Vaudreuil there for a few days with the troops to cut fire wood, after having done what was necessary for lodgings. The inconvenience of this post is, that timber is at a distance from it. M. de Callières and I returned without delay with our *habitans* to issue the orders necessary for the interior of the Colony.

* * * * *

I have not yet told you, my lord, that the *habitans* who left the lower part of the Colony, will on their return to their homes, have made four hundred and sixty leagues from the 24 May to about the 17th or 18th of August. You will well conceive that, what with the two forts which it was necessary to build, the destruction of the enemy's corn and the thirty leagues of road we had, going and coming, to travel by land, they will not have been idle.

It was impossible for us to do any more than we accomplished, for provisions would have failed us had we made a longer delay. It is full 30 years that I have had the honour to serve, but I assure you, my lord, that I have seen nothing that comes near this in labour and fatigue.

* * * * *

You ordered me to send you the prisoners we took. You have perceived, my lord, it was impossible for us to make any among the Senecas, and even had we made any, we should have distributed them among the savages our allies and those who made the seizure in the neighbourhood of Fort Cataracouy who are them-

selves native Iroquois, but for the most part from villages north of Lake Ontario where there had been some fine and large which the Iroquois south of said Lake forced to join them; this began to swell their numbers and depopulate the northern border. It would be for our interest to repeople these villages because they would be more close allies, and under our control.

Among the prisoners there are some I cannot send you, being near relatives of our Christian Indians. Besides there are some of the Onnontagué village whom we must manage with a view to detach them from the Senecas, and to use them for purposes of negotiation if necessary. As I have not yet any news of the movements of the Iroquois, I should much like not to dispose of all these prisoners. Nevertheless, my lord, as you desire them, I shall content myself by retaining those only who will be of use to me and are guiltless of all the disorders of others. Yet, my lord, be so good as to keep them in a place from which they can be withdrawn, in case of need and we finally come to a general arrangement; I believe that would be a very useful thing. Regarding their women and children, I had them distributed through all our missions in the Colony. All the men, women and children had themselves baptised, testifying joy on that occasion. It remains to be seen if it be in good faith.

* * * * *

The copper of which I sent a sample to M. Arnou is found at the head (*au fond*) of Lake Superior. The body of the mine is not yet discovered. I have seen one of our voyageurs who assures me that he saw, 15 months ago, a lump 200 weight, as yellow as gold in a river which falls into Lake Superior. When heated, it is cut with an axe, but the superstitious Indians regarding this piece as a good Spirit would never permit him to take any of it.

ACTE OF THE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY OF
THE IROQUOIS, CALLED SENECA, 19 July 1687.

[Paris Doc. III.]

On the nineteenth of July, One thousand six hundred and eighty seven, the troops commanded by Messire Jacques René de Brisay Chevalier Seigneur Marquis de Denonville and other places, Governor and Lieutenant General for the King throughout the whole of Canada and country of New France, in presence of Hector, Chevalier de Callière, Governor of Montreal in said country, Commandant of the camp under his orders, and of Philip de Rigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Commandant of the King's troops, which being drawn up in the order of battle, Charles Aubert Sieur de la Chenays citizen of Quebec, deputed by Messire Jean Bochart, Chevalier, Seigneur de Champigny, Norvy, Verneuil and other places, Privy Councilor to the King, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance, in all Northern France, presented himself at the head of the army, who stated and declared that on the requisition of the said Seigneur de Champigny, he took possession of the village of Totiakton, as he has done of the other three villages of Gannagaro, Gannondata and Gannongarae, and of a Fort half a league distant from the said village of Gannagaro, together with all the lands in their vicinity as many and how far soever they may extend, conquered in His Majesty's name, and to that end has planted in all the said Villages and Forts His said Majesty's Arms and has caused to be proclaimed in loud voice, *Vive le Roi*, after the said troops had beaten and routed eight hundred Iroquois Senecas, and laid waste, burnt and destroyed their provisions and cabins. Whereof and of what precedes, the said Sieur de la Chenays Aubert has required an Acte ; granted to him by me Paul Dupuy Esq. Councilor of the King and his Attorney at the Provost's Court of Quebec : Done at the said Village of Totiakton, the largest of the Seneca Villages in presence of the Rev^d Father Vaillant, Jesuit, and of the Officers of the Troops and of the Militia Witnesses with me, the said King's Attorney undersigned, the day and year above mentioned, and have signed the Minute,

Charles Aubert de la Chenays, J. René de Brisay Monsieur de Denonville, Chevalier de Callière, Fleutelot de Romprey, de Desmeloizes, de Ramezay, Francois Vaillant of the Society of Jesus, de Grandville, de Longueuil, Saint Paul and Dupuy.

TAKING POSSESSION OF NIAGARA BY MONSIEUR DE DENONVILLE.

[Paris Doc. III.]

JACQUES RENÉ DE BRISSAY Chevalier Seigneur Marquis de Denonville and other places, Governor and Lieutenant General for the King in the whole extent of Canada and Country of New France.

This day, the last of July of the year One Thousand Six hundred and Eighty seven, We declare to all whom it may concern, in presence of Hector, Chevalier de Callières, Governor of Montreal in the said Country and Commandant of the Camp under our orders, and of Philippe Derigaud, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Commanding the King's troops, being encamped with all the army at the post of Niagara, returning from our expedition against the Seneca villages, that being come to the camp of Niagara situate south of Lake Ontario west of the Senecas, twenty-five leagues above them, in the angle of land East of the mouth of the River of the same name which is the outlet of Lake Erie, coming from Lakes Huron, Illinois, the Great Lake Superior and several others beyond the said Great Lake, to reiterate anew for, and in the name of the King the taking Possession of the said Post of Niagara, several establishments having been formerly made there many years since by the King's order, and especially by Sieur De la Salle having spent several years two leagues above the Great Fall of Niagara where he had a Bark built which navigated several years Lakes Erie, Huron and Illinois, and of which the stocks (*les chantiers*) are still to be seen. MOREROVER the said Sieur De la Salle having erected quarters (*logemens*) with settlers at the said Niagara in the year one thousand six hundred

and Sixty Eight which quarters were burned Twelve years ago by the Senecas, which is one of the causes of discontent that with many others have obliged us to wage war against them, and as we considered that the houses we have thought fit to rebuild could not remain secure during the war, did we not provide for them, We have Resolved to construct a Fort there in which we have placed one hundred men of the King's troops to garrison the same under the command of Sieur de Troyes, one of the Veteran Captains of His Majesty's Troops with a necessary number of Officers to command said soldiers.

This Acte has been executed in Our presence and in that of Monsieur Gaillard, Commissary on behalf of the King attached to the Army and subdelegate of Monsieur de Champigny, Intendant of Canada: which Acte We have signed with Our hand and sealed with Our Seal at Arms, and caused to be subscribed by Mess^{rs} de Callières and Vaudreuil and by Monsieur Gaillard, and countersigned by Our Secretary. And they sign: J. RENÉ DE BRISSAY, Marquis de Denonville, le Chevalier de Callières, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Gaillard; and lower down by Monseigneur Tophlin.

[From Council Min. V.]

ffort James Tuesday y^e 19th July 1687. (O. S.)

Mr Brockholes Informed y^e Councill he is now Come from Albany & Schanectade with Instructions ffrom the Govern^r to bring up with all convenient speed a Certain Number of Men & some Provisions

The Instructions Read

Ordred that sixty men be raysed out of y^e Citty & County of New York & sixty men out of Queens County that Warrants be forthwith made out to Major Willett to Raise the men in y^e Queens County and to Coll. Bayard to raise y^e men in y^e Citty & County of New York. that an Expresse be Imêdiately sent to Major Willett with y^e s^d Warrant & that he & Coll. Bayard have their Complement of Men Well armed in ffort James on y^e 22th Inst.

FROM MR. GRAHAM TO MR. SPRAGG.

[London Doc. V.]

New York, 16 July 1687.

Sir—I am invited by your favours to give you by this occasion acknowledgements and also to acquainte you that Mr. Swinton departed this life the 3^d currant, after that he had been violently seized with three fitts of an apoplexie. In the interval of his fitts he was very sencible but without apprehensions of death, however was prevailed with to make a will, by which has constituted Mr Delaval his executor, his affairs are in great confusion, and he judged to be indebted £300. besides what his engagements may be to you, his Excell: being at Albany. The Councill sealed up the office in which state it now remains and will continue until His Excell^s pleasure be knowen. Mr Knights in the mean time does the service of the office. Last night I received a letter from his Excell: in which aduiseth that the French had assaulted the Senaquaes, and were worsted, report by other hands saying the French had 300 men killed, the certainty wants confirmation, however, its consequence is like to be very injurious to us, we having already very little trade, besides are likely to be ingaged in a bloody warr. whose events is uncertain, we are strangely surprised with the french proceedings, not knowing what moves them to invade his Majty^s dominions, without giving notice, and so soon after the publication of the treaty of Commerce betwixt the two Crowns—*P* the next which will be Jacob Maurits His Excell: will give you a full account of his resolves, he having sent a messenger to the French which is not yet returned. Five days agoe, My Lord Effingham.....Sr Robert Parker arryved here from Virginia, he laments the Governours absence otherwise wer satisfied with his entertainments; all your friends are well, my wife kisseth your hands and joins with me in the request that you would give our duty to our Father, our service to Major Baxter, to whom please to excuse not writing, being strained with time, and accept of the assurance that I am Sir

Your affectionate friend and most humble servant

JA GRAHAM

INFORMATION GIVEN BY SEVERALL INDIANS TO THE
GOVERNOR. AT ALBANY, 6. AUG. 1687.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

The Gov^r of Canida last fall, sent word to the Sachems of all the Five Nations to come and speak with him at Cadarachqui this spring, which wee acquainted His Excellency withall, but in pursuance to his Excell^{cy}s commands wee being the King of England subjects, thought ourselves noways obliged to hearken to him, and therefore refused to go, and shortly after wee heard by an Onondage Indian that had lived long at Cadarachqui, that the Gov^r of Canida had a design to warr upon us, for hee had seen a great deal of amunition and iron Dubletts brought to Cadarachqui, and that a Frenchman at Cadarachqui told him, that they would warr with all the Five Nations, About ten days after wee gott the news, that the Gov^r of Canida with his army was seen, encampt att the side of the Lake with many Canoes about halfe way between Onondage and Cadarachqui: upon which they sent a hundred men to the Lake side to spy; who see a Barke neer Irondequat the landing place a lyeing by and nott att anker they sent four men in a Canoe to haile them, there orders from the Sachems being expressly not to doe the French any harme, and when they hailed them, the French answered in base language: Enustoganhorrio, squa, which is as much in theire language as the Devil take you, whereupon they paddled for the shore, and told the rest of theire companions, what answer they had, the hundred men went forthwith to the Castles, and told the Sachems, what they had seen, who forthwith sent twenty men to spy what theire designe was, and they see another Barke come to the first, and while they were theire as scouts spied a great many of the Twichtwich Indians come by land, and had almost environed them before they were awarr of them: the twenty men seeing this, went up forthwith to the Castles and had much adoe to gett through, and the Sachems having sent out three Spyes, after the twenty, to see what the French would have, and before the three were come to

the Lake side (it being about twenty miles from their Castles) the French Army out of Barks and Cannoes was landed, they seeing that. called to them and asked what they were intended to do, A Maquase answered out of the Army. You Blockheads, I'll tell you what I am come to doe, to warr upon you, and to morrow I will march up with my army to your Castles, and as soone as hee had spoke they fyred upon the three Ind^{ns} butt they runn home and brought the news to the Sachems about the twighlight, The Sachems upon this news concluded to convey their wives and children, and old men away, and beeing busy thereabouts all next day, most parte retiring to Cajouge, and the rest to a Lake to the Southward of there Castles in the meantime the French were as good as there words, and marched up halfe way between the landing place and the Castles and there encamped that night ; As soon as the women and children were fled, their fired their own Castles and all the men being gon to convey them away except a hundred in a small Fort who had sent out Spyes and received information that the French were upon there march towards them. they sent forthwith messengers to them that were conveying the Women and Children and desired the assistance of as many of their young men as could conveniently bee spared to turn back and face the French and give battle : whereupon 350 turned back and joyned with the hundred, butt being all young men, were so eager to fall on, that the officers could not bring them in a posture to engage, they went out about halfe a league from the Castle, on a small hill, and there stayed for the French army, but the officers could not persuade them to be in order there neither, all being so fiery to engage, and having scoutts out, brought them intelligence, that they were approaching and how they marched, viz^t the Right and left wing being Indians and the Body French, and when they came in sight of the Sinnekes, the French not seeing them satt down to rest themselves and the Indians likewise ; the Sinnekes seeing this advance upon the left wing being Indians, the French seeing them stood to there arms and gave them first vally, and then the Enemy Ind^{ns} that were on the left wing ; whereupon the Sinnekes answered them with another, which occasioned soe much smoak that they could scarce see one

another, wherefore they immediately run in and came to hardy blows and putt the left wing to the flight, some went quite away and some fled to the reare of the French, and when that wing was broake, they charged and fyred upon the French and the other Indians. The French retired about 150 paces and stood still, the Sinnekes continued the fight with there Hatchets, butt perceiving at last that the French were too numerous and would not give ground, some of the Sinnekes begun to retreat, whereupon the French Indians cryed out, the Sinnekes run and the rest heareing that followed the first party that gave way and so gott off from another and in there retreat were followed about half an English mile, and if the Enemy had followed them further, the Sinnekes would have lost abundance of people because they carried off there wounded men and were resolved to stick to them, and not leave them.

The young Indian that was in the engagement relates that after the engagement was over, when the Sinnekes were gott upon a Hill, they see a party of Fresh French come up, the French called to them and bid them stand and fight, but the Sinnekes replied, come out four hundred to our four hundred and wee have butt a hundred men and three hundred boyes, and wee will fight you hand to fist, The said Boy being asked, whether he see any of the French with Gorges about there necks, it was to hott, they were to numerous,

There was amongst the 450 Sinnekes five women, who engaged as well as the men, and were resolved not to leave their husbands but live and dye with them

A true copy examined p me
ROBT LIVINGSTON CL

EXAMINATION OF INDIAN PRISONERS.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

31 August, 1687.

A few days after the French came and gave him and all the Indians in the Christians Castle, each thirty bullets and a double

handfull of powder, and bad them appeare att a French Gents house, neare Mont Royall : the Christian Indians being about one hundred and twenty or thirty strong, in meane time the French and other Nations of Indians all appeared at Mont Royall, and the second day after that the Gov^r himselve ; the number of the French being two thousand and of all the Indians one thousand. The army went all by water in about two hundred boates in each Boate some seaven and some ten menn, the rest went in Canoes, they were sometimes forced to draw the Boates with Cordes against the Trenches, the Provisions being part in the Boats and a great deal sent upp before at Kadraghke : they were going up from Mont Royall to Kadraghke three dayes, makeing verry short journeys ; att Kadaraghkie they rested three dayes from thence they went and lay att night upon an Island, the night after they lay at Cadranganhie next morning about nine the clock they saw ten Onnondages att Aranhage ; the Gov^r gave orders not to meddle with them, upon that the Onnondages gave a greate shout and went their way, and the army went along the shore-side to a passage that goes to the Cayouges ; the day following they saw a Brigantine att anker, and all the army went ashore and lay there that night. Some of the French went aboard the Brigantine where Arnout was, as this Examinant has heard ; next day the army went along and att Jedandago, the Gov^r landed fifty men to discover the place and the rest went on to Ierondokat where att the same time they mett with the French that came from Twightwig and Dowaganha with their Indians, then the Gov^r ordered the Xtian Maquasse and some other Indians to bee putt in the middle of the army and stayed there three dayes till the Fort was finished, in the meane time four or five Indians came and asked what the matter was, and why the French came so strong in their Country, the French answered (by a Xtian Maquasse) wee come to meet you, the Sinnakes asked againe, and said, why doe you make a Fort, you should butt come on, for we intend to kill you all in a short time. The third day the army marched in the afternoone and came that night about half way between the Lake and Sinnakes Castle : next morning very early after prayers they marched on all the Indians being putt on the

right side somewhat before the French, and we marched on till about noone, then the Indians would boyle their potts, butt the Gov^r bid them march on, till they came upon a greate hill from whence the Gov^r sent three Dowaganhas to spye towards the Sinnakes Castle, who were out butt a litle time, and returning said that the Sinnakes were neare by and lay in the passage, upon which the Gov^r gave order that one hundred Indians should bee chosen out and sent to discover the Sinnakes, who went but not farr before the army then the Gov^r sent out againe four Dowaganhas Indians and one Frenchman to discover, who went out, and stood in the path till the army came to them, and a litle time after fouer hundrd Sinnakes appeared att the right side of the army, where the French Indians were and with greate cry or shout, fyred upon them without wounding one mann being too farr off, butt the Sinnakes advancing came nearer by, and fyred againe, then the French Indians got some wounded, who fyred also upon the Sinnakes and wounded some of them, but the Sinnakes came so neare, and tooke an Indian out of the French army, and cutt off his hands, the rest firing stoutly upon one and the other, till the Dowaganhas and other French Indians fled without returning to the fight, butt the Maquass came up againe and stood their ground till the whole body of the French, came firing all att once upon the Sinnakes, soe that the Sinnakes retreated, having got some dead and wounded in that firing; the Gov^r forbidd following of them having gott seven Frenchmen killed and many wounded and five dead Indians and several wounded; of the Sinnakes were killed sixteene and some wounded; forthwith the Gov^r gave orders that the army should fortify themselves at the same place where the Battle was and so stood there all that night. Next morning the whole army marched towards the Sinnakes Castle called Kohoseraghe, leaving their dead Frenchmen unburied but the Indians burried their dead, and carried all the wounded French and Indians with them to the aforesaid Castle, where one of the wounded men died at said Castle; they found itt all burned, then the Gov^r gave orders that the Christian Indians should cutt downe and destroy the Indians corne, which they refused: soe Frenchmen were sent and destroyed all that they could

find. Afterwards the Gov^r sent four hundred men to another small castle neare by, to surround the same till the whole army should come, thinking the Sinnakes might bee there, butt found the same burned also, butt found a great deale of provisions which they destroyed, takeing only some beanes along with them, for they had provisions enough, every man carried some and the Boates were loaden at Jerondekott with corne and other necessaries, soe the army went to every place where the Castles were burnt and lay att every Castle one night destroying all the corne they could finde except some out fields, which the Xtian Indians would not show them, The Sinnekes made severall times small allarms, butt never attacked the French, since the first fight. From the last Sinnekes Castle, called Theodehacto, the army went back againe, by another way, as they came to Jerondekatt, being butt one night by the way, and were butt two dayes still there, then the Gov^r gave orders that the whole army should goe directly to Oneageragh butt the Xtian Indians refused itt butt would returne to Kadaragkie, and soe went that way, the Gov^r forthwith followed them with seven Canoes, each seven menn, and stopt them saying, what is the matter that you leave us, it is better that wee goe and returne together ; butt they would not, till one Smiths John stood up and spoke very loud, saying to the rest of the Xtian Indians, you hear what the Gov^r's will is, that wee should goe up with him, if wee doe not, he will force us to it ; come, you are lusty men let us goe with him, soe they were persuaded, and returned back with the Gov^r, severall Canoes endeavoured yett to escape, butt were soe watched by the French, that they could not except two or three Canoes that stole away : soe were forced to goe with the French along the shore side of the Lake till they come to Oneagoragh being two days by the way, where the French made a Fort and putt two great gunns and severall Pattareras in it with four hundred men to bee there in Garrison, After they had been there five dayes, the rest of the army returned to Cadarachque and slept there one night, and left there some men, from whence they went to Mont Royall in two dayes, there this deponent left the Gov^r and the Christian Indians went to their Castles.

[From Council Min. V.]

Councill held at ffort James

Thurs day y^e 18th of Aug^s. 1687. (O. S.)

Present His Excel^{cy} the Gover^r &c.

The account of the Expençe that has been about the Seneckas & the ffrench, Read

Resolved that it be taken into Consid^ration that the Councill Do tomorrow give their oppions about a Method for Raising it,

Councill held at ffort James

ffriday y^e 19th Aug^st 1687

The Councill give their opions about Raising mony to Defray y^e expençe about y^e Indyans & y^e ffrench

Resolved that a penny in y^e pound besides the former tax of a halfepenny in y^e pound be raised out of y^e Estates of the ffrehold^{rs} Inhabitants of Kings County queens County Dukes County Dutch-eses County Countys of Richmond Orange Suffolk & Westchester & one halfepenny in y^e pound out of y^e Estates of y^e Inhabitants & ffrehold^{rs} of y^e Cittys & Countys of New York and Albany & County of Vlster and the mony be brought in to y^e Kings Collector at y^e Custome house on or before y^e first day of May next.

Ordered that two bills be Drawn up for the same Accordingly

Councill held at ffort James

Saturday August y^e 20th 1687

The Bill for Raiseing a penny in y^e pound out of y^e Estates of y^e ffrehold^{rs} & Inhabitants of y^e Kings Queens Dukes & Dutcheses Countys the Countys of Richmond Orange westchester & Suffolk, Read and approved Passed and Signed by y^e Govern^r & Councill

MR. SCHUYLER TO GOV. DONGAN.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

2 Sept. 1687.

May it please your Excellency

Last night Anth^y Lesjinard & Jean Rosie arrived here from Canada, have been twenty days upon the way, have letters from [for ?] your Excell: have therefore dispatched Antho^y with 2 Indians down, his compaignion being sick, could not goe—

The news your Excell: will hear of Anth^o. neverthesse have thought fitt to examine his compaignion, who is an honest man, tells us these following news, of which your Excell: may discourse Anth^o about at large—

1 That he heard of father Valiant that the French will not release our people, Except that your Excell: will promise not to supply the Sinnokes with amunition or any other assistance—

2 That Anth^o told him he heard one of the Fathers say, if the Sinnekes got any of there people prisoners would exchange our people for them, man for man.

3 That they had now a great advantage of your Excell: and of the Indians also, having so many of our people and of the Indians prisoners—

4 He heard the Jesuits say that Cryn and the rest of the Christian Indians, were no ways inclined to engage in the war if the Maquas, Oneydes and Onnondages were concern'd, because their brethren sisters, uncles ants ettc were there ; and therefore all means was used to engage said three nations to sit still, for he see 5 Onnondage Christian Indians dispatched with belts and presents to the Onnondages 26 days agoe, to persuade them not to warr—

5 The French were not minded to warr with any of the Indians, except the Sinnekes, and would make a peace with them also if they would deliver to them 10 or 12 of the best Sachims children for hostage and then they would appoint them places where they should hunt: and so gett them wholly to their disposition—

6 The Governour of Canida sent for all the Bosslopers that were at Ottowawa and ordered them to come only with their arms and meet him at Cadarachqua which they did, being about 300 men under the command of three French Capt^{ns} and left their Bevers in the Jesuits house at Dionondade, and so marched with the Governour of Canida to the Sinnekes, in the mean time a fortunate fyer takes the house and burns them all to the number of 20,000 Bevers, when the news came to MonRoyal the Bosslopers were like to go distracted—

7 He heard by beat of Drumm proclaimed throu Mon Royall that as soon as the peace was made with the Sinnekes the Ottowawa trade should be farm'd out, which displeased the Bosslopers much and said, that if that was done they were all ruined—

8 Many of the Bosslopers were inclined to come here not being minded to fight against the Sinnekes, but dare not come for fear of the Indians by the way—

9 Itt was generally beleev'd that the Sinnekes would come to Canida and begg for peace, because there corn was destroyed, and if they were supplied by them of Albany they would come hither in the winter and plunder this place, having 1500 pare of snow shoes ready made, and if they found that we gave the Sinnekes any the least assistance, they would not let the Childe in the cradle live—

10 He heard further of a Merchant that if we would supply the Sinnekes they would send our people away all severall ways, some to Spain, some to Portugall some to the Islands, and it was no more than the English had done to Mons^r Pere whom they kept 18 months in close prison at London

11 The French all acknowledge the Sinnekes fought very well, and if there number had been greater it would have gone hard with the French for the new men were not used to the Sinnekes hoop and hollow. all the officers falling down close upon the ground, for the Officers jeard on another about it att Mont Royall—

This is what Jean Rosie Anth^o Lespinard's compaignion doth relate being an inhabitant of this towne, and a verry honest man, although a frenchman, they were kept 5 weeks in arrest after they

came to Canida upon pretence that there passe was false, for could not beleive your Excell^y was here butt gone home haveing such advice from the French ambassadour he prays your Excell: would consider the pains and trouble and the loss of time that has been att waiting for an answer from the French Governour; we have put down these articles that your Excell: may examine Anth^o about them (since he knows nothing of this) because he was extream familliar with the Govern^r and all there great men there: We have the news of Keman that the Indians have taken 8 men 1 woman and 8 crownes or scalpes, and kild neer upon 20 more at the place where the Barks are, the particulars your Excell: will have in R Levingstone's letter — We find that the selling of strong Liquor to the Indians is a great hindrance to all designs they take in hand. lay a drinking continually at Skinechtady, if your Excell: would be pleased to prohibit itt for two or three months would do very well: We remain

Your Excelleney
most humble and most
obedient servant

P^r SCHUYLER.

COL. DONGAN TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

Sept. 8 1687

My Lord—I gave your Lod^p an acc^t in my last letter that I had Intelligence the French were come on this side of the Lake, to war with the Sennekes

I send the Bearer Judge Palmer to give his Mat^y an account of their Invading his territories without any manner of Provocation if your Lod^p will please to read his Instructions you will find a true accompt of their Proceedings

The Senekas desired assistance of men but I put them off by giving them Powder, Lead, Arms and other things, fitting & necessary for them @ also by making such Propositions as I

thought would please them being unwilling actually to ingage the French until I knew his Maty's pleasure

I must needs say of y^e French without being Partiall that they are very unjust, to enter the King's Territories in a hostile manner after the offers I made them

I know their Pretence will bee, that our Indians have wronged them, but it is not soe, for the Beaver Trade is the sole end of their Designs, whatever Colour they give to their Actions which is only hindred by the Five nations of Indians on this side of the Lake who have submitted themselves @ their Lands to the King's subjection. Those Five nations are very brave @ the awe @ Dread of all y^e Indiyans in these Parts of America, and are a better defence to us, than if they were so many Christians

The Claim the French can make, to the farther Indians, or any on this side y^e Lake is no other than what they may have to Japan which is that some of their Priests have resided amongst them

Peace, or Warr, it will be very necessary to send over men @ to build those Forts, I have mentioned in my Instructions to Judge Palmer, for the French are encroaching as fast as they can, and a little thing can prevent now what will cost a great expence of Blood @ Money hereafter. My Lord there are people enough in Ireland who had pretences to Estates there @ are of no advantage to the country @ may live here very happy I do not doubt if his Maty think fitt to employ my Nephew he will bring over as many as the King will find convenient to send who will be no charge to his Maty after they are Landed, Provided all Connecticut @ East @ West Jersey be added to this Government @ to add any thing of Conecticut to Boston is the most unproportionable thing in the world they having already a hundred times more Land, Riches @ People than this province @ yet the charge of this Governm^t more than that

GOVERNOR DONGAN'S INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPT. PALMER.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

8th Sept. 1687.

You are to inform his Maty that in May last I had letters from Albany @ Informacons of Indians that came from Canada, That the Governor of Canada went from Monte Royall with a great many French and Indyans in Boats and Canno's towards Cada-raque with an Intention to come on this side of the lake @ war against the Sennekes upon Receipt of which I called the Councill @ the letters @ Information were read upon which the Councill thought convenient to give what assistance possibly we could to our Indians, and to that intent I, Major Brockhells yourself @ other gentlemen went up to Albany where there was from time to time such orders and Instructions sent @ given to the Indyans as was thought fitt for their security

The French Pretence for Coming into the King's Territories @ warring with our Indians is that they war with the further nation of Indyans who lye on the back of Maryland, Virginia, @ Carolina, which is only a feigned pretence for that I have sent sev^{ll} Letters to Mons^r La Bar who was Governor of Canada to signify that if our Indians had done them any injury they should make them all reasonable satisfaction, but that would not satisfy, for he came to Cayonhage where the Indians would have me build a Fort @ there made a Peace with the Indians so that what the Indians had done before this Govm^t came was concluded and agreed thereby tho they had not done any thing to the French but what was in Pursuance of his own orders

And as to their Warring with the farther Indyans that is more hurtfull to us than the French they being inclined to trade with us rather than them which by their Warring is hindred @ in my opinion the Christians ought not to meddle with the Indians warring one with another it being the ruin of themselves And as for this present Governor of Canada Mons^r de Nonville he has no ground for what he does, for I have from time to time offered to do him Justice for any ill the Indians should committ and sent

a messenger this Spring to him for that purpose; to take away all pretence whatsoever @ also sent him word that those five Nations on our side of the Lake had delivered themselves @ their Lands under the subjection of our King @ that I had caused the Kings arms to be sett upon all their Castles

But their reason for this Warr is that the Indyans would not submitt @ joyn themselves to the French who have used all other meanes to effect it @ those failing have caused this attempt so that we find they have a further design which is by the Ruin of those Indians to engross both the Trade @ Country wholly to themselves, and to that intent the French King has sent over upwards of 3000 men besides what came this last spring and alsoe has built a Fort at a place called Shamblee and another at Monte Royall and another at Trois Riviars one at Cataraque at the other side of the Lake and this spring an other on our side of the Lake at a place called Onyegra where I had thought to have built one it being the place where all our Traders & Beaver Hunters must pass.

So that they are resolved to Ruin all those Indians @ if they compass their design it will be of very ill consequence to all his Matys subjects in those parts of America for they are a better Bullwark against the French and the other Indians than so many Christians, @ if the French have all that they pretend to have discovered of these Parts, the King of England will not have 100 miles from the sea any where, for the people of Canada are poor @ live only on the Beaver @ Peltry and the Kings subjects here living plentifully have not regarded making discoveries into the country until of late being encouraged by me one Roseboon had leave in the year 1685 to go with some young men as farr as the Ottawawe & Twiswicks, where they were very well rec^d @ invited to come every year, and they desired that the Sinnekas being their enemies would open a path for them that they might come to Albany.

But a little after their being there a party of our Indians being out attacked a Castle of theirs, took 5 or 600 prisners and brought them away to their own country, which when I heard of I ordered the Indians to deliver to Roseboom @ to one Major McGregory a

Scots gentⁿ (who went with 60 of the young men of Albany, and some of Albany Indians a Beaver trading to those further nations) as many of those prisoners as were willing to return home, the Gov^r of Canada hearing of their going that way sent 200 French @ 3 or 400 Indians to intercept them, has taken them Prisoners taken their goods from them @ what they further design to do with them is not yet known.

And for this Government which is too poor of itself to help our Indians without adding Connecticut @ East @ West Jersey in case the war continues without the assistance of our Neighbors @ some men out of Europe will be wholly impossible, for we are the least government @ the poorest @ yet are at the greatest charges @ we find this year that the Revenue^e is very much diminished for in other years we are used to Ship off for England 35 or 40,000 Beavers besides Peltry @ this year only 9000 and some hundreds peltry in all

The Council to show their readiness to serve the King have passed two acts for raising 1^d P^r lb at New York, Isopus @ Albany, these three places being the only support of the Government @ 1¹/₂^d on Long Island @ the rest of the Government who do not advance the Kings Revenue neither by Excise nor Customs 150^{lb} P ann:

To secure the Beaver & Peltry Trade @ the Kings right to the Country : It's mine and the Councils opinion (alsoe to have an awe over our Indians @ make them firm to us) to build a Fort at Corlars Lake; to secure us that way from the Incursion of either French, or Indians, another at Cayonhage upon the great Lake, and another at Onyegra @ two or three little other Forts between Schonectade @ the Lake to secure our people going @ coming

This cannot possibly be done without 4 or 500 men out of Europe, @ in case Connecticut @ the two Jerseys be added to this Government, with some help from Pennsylvania, @ the three lower Countys it may be effected without any charge to the King, and will be a great security to all these parts of America

If the metes @ bounds could be adjusted at home it would be very convenient, provided always that the Country were first well discovered by us in which the French at present have much

the advantage. And it is very unreasonable that the French who lye so much to the Northward of us sh^d extend themselves soe far to the Southward @ Westward on the Backside of his Maty^s Plantacōns when they have so vast a quantity of land Lying Directly behind y^e dominions they now possess, to the Northward @ Northwest as far as the South sea

Whether Peace or War it is necessary that the Forts should be built, @ that religious men live amongst the Indians.

I have that influence over our Indians, that I am sure they will not war on any Indians living amongst His Maty^s subjects.

The monies that are now to be raised is for defraying the charge of Arms, Powder, Lead @ other presents given to the Indians this summer as also to make some preparations against the Spring in Case of Necessity.

Whatsoever is his Maty^s pleasure I desire that My Lord Sunderland, will by the first conveniency either by the way of Maryland, Virginia or Boston let me know and send me orders, how I shall proceed in this affair,

You are so well acquainted with all that has passed in this Government, concerning this affair with the French, and my constant Endeavors to preserve a good correspondence with them, that what I have here omitted I desire you will take care to inform his Maty.

THOS DONGAN

Dated the 8th
September 1687

M DE DENONVILLE TO GOV. DONGAN.

[Paris Doc. III. ; Lond. Doc. V.]

August 22, 1687.

Sir—The respect I entertain for the King your Master and the orders I have from the King to live in harmony with His Britannic Majesty's Subjects induce me, Sir, to address you this letter on the present state of affairs, so as not to have any thing to reproach myself with.

On seeing, Sir, the letter you were at the trouble to write me on my arrival in this government I persuaded myself by your

frank discourses that we should live in the greatest harmony and best understanding in the world, but the event has well proved that your intentions did not at all accord with your fine words.

You recollect, Sir, that you positively asked me in that same letter to refer the difference about boundaries to the decision of our Masters; letters more recently received from you fully convince me that you received that which I wrote you in reply to your first to shew you that I willingly left that decision to our Masters. Nevertheless, Sir, whilst you were expressing these civilities to me you were giving orders and sending passes to despatch canoes to trade at Missilimaquina where an Englishman had never set his foot and where we, the French, are established more than 60 years. I shall say nothing of the tricks and intrigues resorted to by your people and by your orders to induce all the Savage tribes domiciled with the French to revolt against us. I tell you nothing, either, of all your intrigues to engage the Iroquois to declare war against us. Your Traders at Orange have made noise enough about it, and your presents of munitions of war made, with this view, last year and 'this, are convictions sufficiently conclusive not to entertain a doubt of it, even were there not proofs at hand of your wicked designs against the subjects of the King whose bread you have eaten long enough and by whom you have been sufficiently well entertained to cause you to have more regard for His Majesty, though you had not all the orders from his Britannic Majesty that you have to live well with all the subjects of the King, his antient friend.

What have you not done, Sir, to prevent the Senecas surrendering to me the Outaouas and Huron prisoners of Missillimaquina whom they treacherously captured last year, and how many goings and comings have there not been to the Senecas on your part and that of your traders who do nothing but by your orders, to prevent the restitution of the said prisoners by the said Senecas who were solicited at the village of the Onontagues to give me satisfaction.

I avow to you, Sir, that I should never have expected such proceedings on your part, which without doubt will not please the King your Master, who will never approve your so strenuously opposing by threats of chastisement the Iroquois coming to

me, when I invited them to visit me to arrange with them the causes of discontent that I had on account of their violences. Three years ago, Sir, you made use of them to wage war against the French and their allies, you took great pains to give them, for that purpose, more lead, powder and arms than they asked. You did more, Sir; for you promised them reinforcements of men to sustain them against the King's subjects; quite recently, Sir, you would have again pushed your ill will further by sending two Parties, commanded by men carrying your orders, to Missilimaquina to expel us from there and put you into possession, contrary to the word you have given not to undertake any thing before the arrangement of their Majesties, our Masters.

You have, Sir, still surpassed all that; for after the pains you had taken to prevent the Iroquois assembling at Cataracouy where I expected to meet them to settle all our differences and receive from them the satisfaction they should have afforded me, as well in regard to the Huron and Outaouas prisoners they would have given up to me had you not opposed it, as for the pillagings and robberies that they have committed on us, and all the insults they daily offer our missionaries, as well those they may have actually among them as those they have expelled after an infinite amount of ill treatment during 20 years they lived in their villages; after you, Sir, having, I say, so little regard for the interests of the King's subjects and the good of Religion whose progress you thus prevent, you have, Sir, quite recently contravened the last treaty entered into between our masters, a copy of which you have received with orders to observe it, and of which you have also sent me copy. Read it well, Sir, if you please, and you will there remark how strongly their Majesties have it at heart to preserve their subjects in good union and understanding, so that their Majesties understand that the enemies of one are the enemies of the other. If the avarice of your merchants influenced you less than the desire to execute the orders of the King your master, doubtless, Sir, I should already have had proofs of your good disposition to execute the said treaty, according to which you ought not to afford either refuge or protection to the savages, enemies of the French Colony, much less assist them with ammunition to wage war against it.

Nevertheless, I assert positively that you have, since the publication of said treaty of neutrality, contravened it in this particular, since nothing is done in your government save by your orders.

After that, judge, Sir, what just grounds I have to complain of, and be on my guard against, you.

On my return from the campaign which I just made against the Senecas, I received the letter that you took the trouble to write me, Sir, on the 11th (20th) June of this year. You send me copy of the Treaty of Neutrality entered into between our masters of which I also transmitted you a copy as I had rec^d it from the King and it was published in this country. Nothing more is required therein, Sir, than to have it fully and literally executed as well on your part as on mine. To do that you must discontinue protecting the enemies of the Colony and cease to receive them among you, and to furnish them with munitions as you have done. You must, also, observe the promise you gave me at the time of my arrival, that you would leave the decision of the limits to our masters. You must, likewise, not undertake any expedition against us in any of our establishments, the greatest portions of which were before Orange (Albany) was what it is, or any of Manate were acquainted with the Iroquois and the Ouatouas.

When you arrived in your present government, did you not find, Sir, in the whole of the five Iroquois villages, all our Missionaries sent by the King almost the entire of whom the heretic merchants have caused to be expelled even in your time, which is not honorable to your government. It is only three years since the greater number have been forced to leave ; the fathers Lambreville alone bore up against the insults and ill treatment they received through the solicitations of your traders. Is it not true, Sir, that you panted only to induce them to abandon their mission ? You recollect, Sir, that you took the trouble to send under a guise of duty so late as last year to solicit them by urgent discourses to retire under the pretext that I wished to declare war against the village of the Onnontagués. What certainty had you of it, Sir, if it were not your charge and prohibitions you had given them, against giving me up the prisoners I demanded of them, and they surrendered to me ? You foresaw the war I would make because you

wished me to make it against them and because you obliged me to wage that against the Senecas. In this way, Sir, it is very easy to foresee what occurs.

I admire, Sir, the passage of your last letter of the 11th June of this year in which you state that the King of England your Master has juster title than the King to the Posts we occupy, and the foundation of your reasoning is that they are situate to the South of you, just on the border of one portion of your dominion (*domination*). In refutation of your sorry reasonings, Sir, it is only necessary to tell you that you are very badly acquainted with the Map of the country and know less the points of the compass where those Posts are relative to the situation of Menade, (New York). It is only necessary to ask you again what length of time we occupy those Posts and who discovered them—You or we? Again, who is in possession of them? After that, read the 5th article of the treaty of Neutrality and you will see, if you were justified in giving orders to establish your trade by force of arms at Missilimaquina. As I send you a copy of your letter with the answer to each article, I need not repeat here what is embraced in that answer. Suffice it to say this in conclusion, that I retain your officer Mr. Gregory here and all your orders for your pretended expedition, who were taken within the Posts occupied by the King. My first design was to send them back to you but as I know that you entertain and give aid and comfort to the Iroquois Savages contrary to the Treaty of Neutrality of the 16th Nov^r 1686 agreed to by our Masters, causing them to be supplied with all munitions necessary to wage war against us, I have determined, in spite of myself, to retain all your people until you have complied with the Intentions of the King your Master and executed said Treaty, being obliged to regard you as the King's enemy whilst you entertain his enemies and contravene the treaties entered into between the King of England and the King my Master.

All that I can tell you for certain, Sir, is, that your conduct will be the rule of mine, and that it will remain with yourself that the said Treaty be thoroughly executed. I must obey my Master and I have much respect and veneration for one of the greatest

Kings in the world, the protector of the Church. You pretend that the Iroquois are under your dominion. To this I in no wise agree, but it is a question on which our Masters will determine. But whether they be or be not, from the moment that they are our enemies you ought to be opposed to them and be their enemies, and if you comfort them, directly or indirectly, I must regard you as an enemy of the Colony and I shall be justified in subjecting the prisoners I have belonging to your government to the same treatment that the enemies of the Colony will observe towards us.

Hereupon, Sir, I will expect news from you as well as the fitting assurances you will please give me that I may be certain you do not employ the Iroquois to wage war on us by giving them protection.

Rely on me Sir. Let us attach ourselves closely to the execution of our Masters' intentions; let us seek after their example to promote Religion and serve it; let us live in good understanding according to their desires. I repeat and protest, Sir, it remains only with you. But do not imagine that I am a man to suffer others to play me tricks.

I send you back Antoine Lespinaud, bearer of your passport and letter. I shall await your final resolution on the restitution of your prisoners whom I wish much to give up to you, on condition that you execute the treaty of Neutrality in all its extent and that you furnish me with proper guarantees therefor.

Your very humble & very obt^d Serv^t

THE M. DE DENONVILLE.

[From Council Min. V.]

Council held at ffort James,

Monday the ffifth day of September 1687

Present His. Exceley the Goven^r &c.

Proposed that Some Course may be taken about Major McGregorie & his Company who are prisoners in Cannada.

Resolved that a lett^r be sent by a ffitt person to y^e Governor of Cannada about that and the oth^r injurys he has done his Majties subjects of this Government

*Councill held at ffort James,*Wednesday y^e Seaventh day of Septemb 1687.Present His Excel^{cy} the Govern^r &c.

It being now plaine that y^e ffrench are Resolved to Do all the Prejudice they can to the Kings Subjects of this Government It is for y^e preventón thereof

Ordred that ye people of y^e City and County of Albany Do Cutt Pallasadoes and by y^e five and twentieth day of March next Cart them to y^e s^d City and y^e towne of Schanechtade to fortifye those places in y^e Spring That in y^e meanetime they Keep a careful Watch there and that this ord^r be sent to y^e Justices of y^e Peace of y^e s^d County who are to take Care that it Be put in Execution.

That y^e Mayor of Albany send ord^{rs} to y^e North Indjans to Keep thirty or forty Indjans allways towards Corlaers lake. That the s^d Mayor if he be in Albany send a belt of Wampum to Each of the five Nations with ord^{rs} that y^e Christian Indjans who Come from Caunada to them be sent Hith^r to his Ex^y y^e Govern^r and to encourage y^e Indjans to look out Carefully letting them Know the Govern^r will be up early there y^e next Spring

Ordred that a Proclamacón be Drawn up Prohibiting y^e Bringing any Indyan Corne or Pease Out of y^e Countys of Albany and Vlster until further Ord^r

Ordred that Peiter Schuyler take examinacóns of y^e antientest traders In Albany how many yeares Agon they or any others first traded with y^e Indjans y^t had the Straws or Pipes thro' their noses and the ffarther Indjans.

GOV. DONGAN TO M. DE DENONVILLE.

[Par. Doc. III. ; Lond. Doc. V.]

8th Sept. 1687.

Sir—Yours of the 21st of August last I have received and am sorry that Mons^r de Nonville has so soon forgot the orders he had received from his master to live well with the King of England's subjects. but I find the air of Canada has strange effects on all

the Governour's boddys, for I no sooner came into this province than Mons^r de la Barr desired my assistance to warr against the Sinnekes, upon which I went to Albany and sent for the five nacôns to come to me, and when they came was very angry with them for offering to doe any thing to the French that might disturb their hunting, or otherwise, on which they answered me that they had not don anything to the French, but what Mons^r de la Barr ordered them, which was that if they mett with any French hunting without his passe to take what they had from them, notwithstanding if any of their people which were abroad had don any injury they knew not of, they assured me they would give satisfaction. I send him word of all this, and assured him satisfaction, butt notwithstanding, he comes in a hostile manner on this side of the lake to a place called Kayonhaga, and there by the means of the Onondages made a peace with the Sinnekes, so if they have committed any fault before that, it was all concluded there, but I appeal to any rational man whatever whether it was fitt for any Govern^r of Canada to treat or make any peace with his Majesty's subjects without the advice and knowledge of the Governour of the Provinc they lived under, butt I finde the designe to ruine those five nations (Since you cannot with bribes or other means gain them to be of your party), is of a longer date than three of foure yeares. since Mons^r Denonuille follows the same steps his predecessors trod in, tho' he proposed to himselfe so fair a beginning, I am sure he will not make so good an end for no sooner was Mons^r Denonuille in possession of his government butt he began to build a great many boates and cannoes, and putt a great deal of provisions and stores in the Cataraque at which our Indians on this side of the lake were much alarmed and came to me, to know the meaneing of itt. upon which I sent to you by the way of Mons^r Lamberville to know what you intended by all these preparations, your answer was, as Mons^r Denonuille may remember that the winters being long, and you resolving to have a good number of men at Cataraque, you accordingly made provision for them, and if I had not really believed what you writt to be true I might have bin in as much readynesse to have gone on the other side of the lake as Mons^r de Nonuille

was to come on this. Now sir, I will not answer your hayty way of expressions in your own stile butt will plainly let you know the matter of fact as it is ; if Sr you [will] please to peruse those letters I from time to time sent you, you will find that I still couetted nothing more than to preserue that friendshipp which is between our masters, and aught to be between their subjects here, and as you well remarke, is according to their commands, and pray, Sir, which is itt of us both that hath taken the way to unty that knott of friendshipp—Mons^r de Nonuille invadeing the King of England's territorys, in a hostill manner, (tho' his reception has not been according to his expectation) is soe plaine a matter of fact that it is undeniable whether you did it designedly, to make a misunderstanding or noe, I cannot tell, if you did I hope itt will take noe effect butt that our masters at home notwithstanding all your trained souldiers and greate officers, come from Europe will suffer us poor planters and farmers, his Majesties subjects in these parts of America, to do ourselves justice on you for the injurys and spoyle you have committed on them, and I assure you Sir if my master gives leave I will be as soon [with you] at Quebeck as you shall be att Albany. as for Major McGregorie and those others you took prisoners they had no passe from me to go to Missillimaquine butt a pass to go to the Ottowawas, where I thought it might bee as free for us to trade as for you, and as for giving them any commission or instructions to disturb your people I assure you do me wrong, and if you please to read his instructions you will find there I give express orders to the contrary and for your pretences to sixty yeares possession, 'tis impossible for they and the Indians who wear pipes thro' their noses, traded with Albany long before the French settled att Montreall, butt in case it weare as you alledge, which I have not the least reason to believe, you could only have prohibited their trading in that place and let them goe to some other nation—

It is verry true I offered you to leave the decision to our masters at home, in case of any difference, and pray Sir lett me know in what I in the least have acted to the contrary ; you tell me I hindered the five nations on this side the lake, who have subjected themselves, their countrys, and conquests under the King of Eng-

land to go to you at Cattaraque : Itts very true I did so and thought itt very unjust in you to desire their comeing to you—for the King of England did not send me here to suffer you, to give laws to his subjects of this Government—you also alleage that I have given orders to those Indians to pillage and warr upon your people—sure Sir, you forgot what you desired of me ; if you will please to reflect on one of your owne letters, in which you acquainted me, that many of your people run away into this Government, and desired that I would take and send back any should be found upon this side the lake without your passe, upon which I ordered those of Albany and also the Indians, to seize and secure all persons whatever, as well french as English, they should finde on this side of the lake without your pass or mine—truly Sir, I ought severely to be rebukt for this, itt having been the hindrance of many thousands of beavers comeing to Albany: further you blame me for hindring the Sinakees deliuering up the Ottawawa prisoners to you, this I did with good reason—for what pretence could you have to make your applications to them and not to me, neverthelesse I ordered Major McGregory to carry them to the Ottawaways and if your claim be only to Missilimaquina what cause had you to hinder Magregory to go to the Ottawawas—

What you alleage concerning my assisting the Sinnakees with arms, and amunition to warr against you, was neuer giuen by mee until the sixt of August last, when understanding of your unjust proceedings in invaeding the King, My Masters territorys, in a hostill manner, I then gave them powder lead and armes ; and united the five nations together to defend that part of our King's dominions from your injurious invasion. And as for offering them men in, that you doe me wrong, our men being all biusy then att their haruest, and I leave itt to your judgement whether there was any occasion when only foure hundred of them engaged with your whole army.—You tell me in case I assist the Indyns you will esteme me an ennemy to your colony—Sir, give me leave to lett you know, you are a farr greater ennemy to your Colony than I am, itt haueing always been my endeavour to keepe those Indyns from warring with you, who in your protecting their enemys that have killed and Robbed them in their hunting

and otherwise, and that not once but several times have given them great provocations, butt you have taken away to spill a great deale of Christian blood without gaining the point you aim att, and for you who have taken the King's subjects prisoners, in a time of peace and taken their goods from them without any just grounds for so doing, how can I expect butt that you will use them as you threaten ; You say also in your letter, that the King of England has no right to the five nations on this side the lake. I would willingly know if so, whose subjects they are in your opinion, You tell me of your haueing had Missionaryes among them, itt is a very charitable act, but I suppose and am very well assured that giues no just right or title to the Government of the Country—Father Bryare writes to a Gent: there that the King of China never goes any where without two Jessuits with him : I wonder why you make not the like pretence to that kingdome : you also say you had many Missionaryes among them att my coming to this Goverment, in that you have been missinformed for I never heard of any, butt the two Lamberuills who were at Onnondages, and were protected by me from the Insolencyes of the Indians, as they desired of me, and as by letters in which they give me thanks appears, but when they understood your intentions they thought fit to goe without takeing leave : butt their sending there was as I afterwards found for some other end then propagating the Christian Religion as was apparent by some letters of theirs directed to Canada, which happened to come to my hands—

Now you have mist of your unjust pretentions—you are willing to refer all things to our Masters, I will endeavour to protect his Majestys subjects here from your unjust inuasions until I hear from the King my Master who is the greatest and most glorious monarch that ever set on a Throne and would do as much to propagate the Christian faith as any Princee that liues and is as tender of wronging the subjects of any Potentate whatever, as he is of suffering his owne to be injured—

Itt is very true that I have eat a great deale of the bread of France and have in requittall complied with my obligations in doing what I ought and would preferr the service of the French

king before any, except my owne, and have a great deal of respect for all the people of quality, of your nation which engages me to advise Mons^r Denonuille to send home all the Christians and Indians prisoners the King of England's subjects you unjustly do deteine, this I thought fitt to answer to your reflecting and provoking letter.

a true copy.

GOV. DONGAN TO THE LORD PRESIDENT.

[Lond. Doc. V.]

New York, Sept. 12, 1687.

My Lord—Since writing my other Letter some messages have come to my hands from Albany of their apprehensions of the French, which obliges me to carry up thither two hundred men, besides the Garrison @ go and stay there this Winter, and to get together five or six hundred of the five nations about Albany @ Schonectade which will be a great charge but I see no remedy for it

My Lord it is a great misfortune for this Govern^t that there are so few of his Maty^s natural born subjects, the greater part being Dutch, who if occasion were, I fear would not be very fitt for service

I am sending to the further Indians to try if I can make a Peace between them @ the Sennekes and also to the Christian Indians about Canada who have a mind to come, I will do what is possible for me to save the Government against the French til I have further orders from your Lodp Judge Palmer has more papers to show your Lodp that came from Albany, by those he carries with him your Lodp may perceive the grounds I have for my proceedings

I am your Lodps most obed^t
and Humble Serv^t

TUN DONGAN

[Council Min. V.]

Councill Held at ffort James ;

ffriday the Ninth of September 1687.

Present His Excy the Govern^r &c.

Informacōn being given to his Excy and some of the Members of y^e Board that y^e ffrench at Cannada are providing ffifteen hundred pair of Snowshews,

Ordred that y^e Mayor and Magistrates of Albany send ord^{rs} to the five Nations to bring Down their Wives Children and old men least y^e ffrench come uppon them in the Winter and none to stay in the Castles but y^e yong men. That they who come be settled some at Cats Kill Levingstons land and along y^e River where they can find Conveniency to be neer us to assist them if they should want and that they send Downe with them all y^e Indyan Corne that can be spared by y^e Young Men who are to stay in y^e Castles.

*Councill Held at ffort James ;*Sonday the 11th of Septemb^r, 1687.Present His Excy the Govern^r &c.

Letters from Albany giveing account that the people there are in great Consternation thro apprehension that y^e ffrench will come down uppon them this Winter

Resolved that Every tenth man of all y^e Militia troupes & Companys within the Province Except those who were out y^e last yeare a whaling be Drawn out to go up thither.

M. DE DENONVILLE TO GOV. DONGAN.

[Par. Doc. III.; Lond. Doc. V.]

Kebec, 2 Octob. 1687.

Sir— On arriving in this town I rec^d a letter from the King copy of which I send, so that you may see, Sir, how much His Majesty has at heart that we should live on good terms. This has induced me not to await your reply to the letters I had the honour to write you by Antoine Lespinard regarding the complaints I made to you of the infraction yourself and your officers at Orange

have committed and continue to commit of the Treaty of Peace and Union entered into between the Kings, our Masters. . . .

Though I have quite recently again cause to complain of you and your officers since you have a short time since, hired a party of sixty Mohawks to come and make a foray in the country of New France, which is a truth so well known that it cannot be doubted, yet, Sir, in conformity with my Master's orders and in response to the intentions of His Majesty whose will I follow, directing me to do all in my power to contribute to the union that our Masters desire should exist between us, I have determined to send you back Mr. Gregory and all those whom you despatched under his orders, being very happy to evince to you thereby the desire I have to live well with you and to avoid every subject of quarrel, which will be very easy if you wish to remain within the rules prescribed by our Masters.

As it is very necessary to the maintenance of good correspondence between us according to our Masters' intentions, that I be informed of your last resolutions ; in order to afford you an opportunity to communicate with me I retain here only those named Captain Loquerman, the son of Arian, Abraham Squelar (Schuyler) and Jean Blaquer whom I shall take care will want for nothing until I have replies from you to justify me in not doubting that we shall live hereafter in union and good understanding.

[Council Min. V.]

Councill Held at ffort James;

tuesday the 13th day of March 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Present the Members of the Council. .

Major Baxter now come ffrom Albany Informing that he is Instructed by His Exceley The Governour to propose to this board that they Consider what y^e amount of the Extraordinary Charge of the Expedicôn ag^t y^e ffrench will be this year and what will be y^e best & easyest means for defraying It in persuance whereof Computacôn being made the Charge of the new Raised forces with y^e Incidentall Charges thereon Is Computed to bee about Eight thousand Pound and finding y^e last tax of one penny halfe

penny per pound will not amount to above Twelve hundred pound of which many of the Inhabitants are not able to pay their own proportion, It is the opinion of this board that this Goverment alone is no way able to bear so great a burthen, Whereuppon It is Resolved that a lett^r be sent to his Exceley proposing this Board's Opinion that It will be Convenient proposalls be sent to the Neighbouring Collonyes to send Commissiones thither to treat and make some settlement for defraying the Charges of the said Expedition as will be Esteemed most Easy and Convenient

Council Held at ffort James;

Monday the thirtyeth day of Aprill 1688.

Present His Excelley the Govern^r &c.

Account of Disbursements made by Robert Levingston at Albany by His Exceley^s Ord^r ffor y^e Maintenance of his Majties forces there and for sundry Guefts & p^rsents made to y^e Indyans and Releife of y^e ffrench Prisoners, ffrom y^e 11th August 1687 to y^e first day of June 1688 amounting to Two thousand sixty seven pound six shillings and four pence read.

Council held at ffort James

Monday y^e third day of May 1688.

Present His Exceley the Govern^r &c.

Resolved uppon Debate had thereof that the taxes lately made will not Raise mony sufficient to bear y^e p^rsent necessary Charge of the Govern^t and that a new Levy of £2556. 4s. be made to be Paid by all the Inhabitants and ffreeholders in y^e Province in mony to his Majties Collector at y^e Custome house in New York before y^e first day of Novembr next in manner following viz^t

The Citty & County of New Yorke to pay	£434 : 10 ^s : 00 ^d
County of Westchester	185 : 15 : 00
Citty and County of Albany	240 : 00 : 00
County of Richmond	185 : 15 : 00
County of Ulster	408 : 00 : 00
Kings County	308 : 08 : 00
Queens County	308 : 08 : 00

County of Suffolk	£	s	d
	434	10	00
Dukes County	040	00	00
County of Orange	010	00	00

Ordred that y^e Attorney Generall Draw upp an Act for y^e s^d tax accordingly.

An Establishment to be Allowed to the Officers and Soldiers who hath been att Albany upon the present Expedicón viz^t

The Major ten Shillings Curr^{nt} Money of this Province

	per diem		per diem
The Capt ⁿ of horse	£0.10.0	The Cap ^t off floott	£0.8.0
The Liev ^t do	0. 7.0	The Liev ^t . . .	0.4.0
The Cornett . . .	0. 6.0	The Ensigne . . .	0.3.0
The Quartermaster	0. 5.0	The Sergeant . . .	0.1.6
The Corporall . . .	0. 2.0	The Corporall . . .	0.1.0
The Trumpiter . . .	0. 2.0	The Drumbeater . . .	0.1.0
The Troopers . . .	0. 1.6	The rest of the private men	0.0.8

[Lond. Doc. IX.]

In the year 1687 when the French at Canada were making preparations to attack the Five Nations of Indians belonging to New York, Coll. Dongan then Gov^r there sent some of the forces of the Countrey to Albany, & went himsele to sustain the Indians against the French, towards the charges of w^{ch} Expedition a Countrey Rate and other taxes were laid by the Gov^r and Councill in New York amounting to £3813.6.4 whereof Pet^r (Livingston) alledges £1129.3.6 to remain yet unpaid in the severall Countyes.—*Statement of Mr. Livingston's Case, &c. Sept. 1695.*

CONDITION IN WHICH FORT NIAGARA WAS LEFT IN 1688.

[Paris Doc. IV.]

On the fifteenth day of September of the Year One thousand, Six hundred and Eighty and Eight, in the forenoon, Sieur Desbergères Captain of one of the companies of the Detachment of the Marine, Commandant of Fort Niagara having assembled all

the officers, the Rev: Fath^r Millet of the Society of Jesus Missionary, and others, to communicate to them the orders he received from the Marquis de Denonville Governor and Lieutenant General for the King in the whole extent of New France and Country of Canada, dated the 6th of July of the present year, wherein he is ordered to demolish the fortification of the said Fort, with the exception of the cabins and quarters, which will be found standing (*ennature*); We, Chevalier de La Mothe, Lieutenant of a detached company of the Marine, and Major of said Fort, have made a Proces Verbal, by order of said Commandant, containing a Memorandum of the condition in which we leave said quarters which will remain entire, to maintain the possession His Majesty and the French have for a long time had in this Niagara district.

Firstly :—

We leave in the centre of the Square a large, framed, wooden Cross, eighteen feet in height, on the arms of which are inscribed in large letters, these words :—

REGN·VINC·IMP·CHRS·

which was erected on last Good Friday by all the officers and solemnly blessed by the Rev. Fath^r Millet.

Item, a Cabin in which the Commandant lodged, containing a good chimney, a door and two windows furnished with their hinges, fastenings and locks, which cabin is covered with forty-four deal boards and about six other boards arranged inside into a sort of bedstead.

Item, in the immediate vicinity of said Cabin is another cabin with two rooms having each its chimney; ceiled (*lambrisés*) with boards and in each a little window and three bedsteads, the door furnished with its hinges and fastenings; the said Cabin is covered with fifty deal boards and there are sixty like boards on each side.

Item, right in front is the Rev. Fath^r Millet's Cabin furnished with its chimney, windows and sashes; with shelves, a bedstead and four boards arranged inside, with a door furnished with its fastenings and hinges, the which is of twenty-four boards.

Item, another Cabin, opposite the Cross, in which there is a chimney, board ceiling and three bedsteads, covered with forty-two boards, with three like boards on one side of said cabin, there is a window with its sash and a door furnished with its hinges and fastenings.

Item, another Cabin with a chimney, a small window with its sash and a door; covered with thirty deal boards; there are three bedsteads inside.

Item, a bake house furnished with its oven and chimney, partly covered with boards and the remainder with hurdles and clay; also an apartment at the end of said Bakery containing two chimneys: There are in said Bakery a window and door furnished with its hinges and fastenings.

Item, another large and extensive framed building having a double door furnished with nails, hinges and fastenings, with three small windows: the said apartment is without a chimney; 'tis floored with twelve plank (*madriers*) and about twelve boards are arranged inside; without, 'tis clapboarded with eighty-two plank.¹

Item, a large storehouse covered with one hundred and thirty boards, surrounded by pillars, eight feet high, in which there are many pieces of wood serving as small joists, and partly floored with several unequal plank. There is a window and a sliding sash.

Item, above the scarp of the ditch a Well with its cover.

All which apartments are in the same condition in which they were last winter, and consequently inhabitable. Which all the Witnesses, namely, the Rev. Fath^r Millet of the Society of Jesus, Missionary; Sieur Desbergères, Captain and Commander; Sieurs De la Mothe, La Rabelle, Demuratre, de Clerin and Sieurs de Gembraï, Chevalier de Tregay all lieutenants and officers, and Maheut Pilot of the Bark the General, now in the Roadstead, certify to have seen and visited all the said apartments and have therefore signed the Minute and Original of these presents:—
PIERRE MILLET of the Socy of Jesus, DESBERGERES, le Chevalier DE LA MOTHE, DE LA RABELLE, MURAT, DE CLEZIN, de la GEMESAIS, Commander de TSEGIMO, and MAHEUT.

¹ This most probably was the Chapel.

VIII.

NAMES

OF THE

Male Inhabitants of Ulster County, 1689.

A ROOL OF THE NAMES AND SURNAMES

OF THEM THAT HAUE TAKIN THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE IN Y^c COUNTY
OF VLST^r, BY ORD^r OF HIS EXCELY : Y^c GOVERNOR ; Y^c FFIRST DAY
OF SEPTEMB^r ANNO Q^c: DOMINI 1689—

Cap ⁿ : Hennery Beekman	John Haesbrock
Cap ⁿ Matthis Matthison	Cornelis Sweitts
Left: Abraham Haesbrock	Burgar Mind ^r son
Lowies Bouier	Hendrick Albertsa
John Hendricks	Abraham ffranckford
Albart Johnson V: Steenwicke	William: Danswick
Marten Hoffeman	Moses Depuis
William Van ffredingborch	William Hoogtilin
Lowranc. Van der Bush	Gerritt Wincoop
Wessell Tenbrock	Symon Cool
John Boorehanc	Isack Dibois
John Willianson Hogetilen	Benja: Provorist
Gerritt Arsin	Jesely Valleij
Tunis Elison	Andries Laffever
John ffocken	Pettr: Dovo
William DeMy ^r s:	Abraham Deboijs
Johanas Schencke	Moses Laconta
William De Lamontanij	Petter Hellibrandts
John Johnson Van Osterenhoudt	Symon Laffever
Jochijam Hendricks	Sander Roesinkranc
Harrama Hendricks	Cornelis Cool

Pett ^r : Johnson	Arrie ffrance
Claes Claes Sluitt ^r	John Osternhoudt Juno ^r :
Powlas Powlas	Hendrick Traphager
Thomas Quick	Jacob Decker
Nicolas Anthony	Rolloff Hendrickes
Johanas Wincop	Cornelis VerNoij
Jost Jansin	Hendrick Van Wien
Jacob Arsin	Hiuge ffreri Senior
Matthies Slecht	Hiuge ffreri Junior
John Middag	Pett ^r : Cornelis
Hendrick Cornelis Bogard	Gerritt Johnson
Gisbort Albortsa	Anthony Criupill
Gerrit Van ffeitt	Abraham Carrmar
Cornelis Slecht	Pett ^r : Winniy
Jacob Cool	John Pett ^r son
Abraham Rutton	John Josten
Abl Westfalin	Wallraven DeMont Junio ^r
Abraham Lamiater	Johanas Traphager
Pett ^r : Jacobs	Hendrick in the ffeelt
Isack Van ffredingborch	Petter Criupill
Gerrit Cornelis	Gerrit Gisborts
Jacob Lamiater	Hendrick Hendricks
Arrian Tunis	John Gerrittsa of new Church
Claes Westfalin	Hendrick Arreyn
John Cottin	John Van ffeitt
Johanas Westfalin	Claes Tunis
Thomas Johnson	Andries Dewitt
Hendrick Johnson Van Bush	Jacob Van Etta
Andries Petters	John Schutt
Gerritt Jansa Decker	John Dewitt
Lendart Cool	Hendrick Johnson
Cornelis ffinhoudt	Thomas Swardtwout
Tunis Jacobs	John Van Etta
Jacob Schutt	Anthony Swartwoudt
Leury Jacobs	John Jacosa Stoll
John Elting	Heybert Lamberts
Rollof Swartwout	William Jacobs

Dirrick Westbrook	David Deboyes
Agbert Hendricks	Sallomon Deboyes
Sam ^l : Berrey	Evert Wincoope
Lambert Heybertsin	Johanas Westbrook
Hendrick Claes	John Peteet
Brown Hendricks	Rutt Jores
Harrama Pier	Heibort Sealand
John David	Jury Tunies
John Blanchard	John Broerson Decker
Cornelis Gerritts	Roulof Johnson
John Smedis	John Matthies
Barrant Cuinst	Heymon Roos
Hellebrandt Lazer	John Roos
Johanas Bush	Arrie Roos
Pietter Lhommedien	Petter Pettersin
August Jay	Gerritt Agbortsin
John Rulland	Claes Roosinfelt
William Traphager Juno ^r	Jn ^o : Evedin
Jochyam Van Ama	Cornelis Lambertsin
Aimi canchi	Thomas Harramansa
Jacob Besteyansa	Johanas Dehogos
Abraham Larew	Moses Cantine
Matthis Blanzan Junio ^r	Isack Deboyes
John Lazier	Cornelis Mastin
James Bonamiz	John Euertsa
Dirrick Hendricks	Coinradt Elvendorop
John Gerrittsa	Cornelis Petterson
James Cordaback	Barrant Jacobs
Powlas Powlason Juno ^r	Marinos Van Acar
John Williamson y ^e Dutcher	Claes Lazier
William Schutt	Barrant Coll
Cornelis Tacke	Symon Westfallin
John Johnson Poast	Arrent Jacobs
Petter Demarr	Artt martenson Doorn
Privie go Doon	Cornelis Bogardos
Lowies Deboyes Senior	Arrent Van Dick
Jacob Deboyes	

These flowing persons were present when y^e Oath was A
givin. but Did Reffeues to taik it Viz^t

Antony Tilba	Joseph ffocker
Thomas Van der Marrick	Jacob Horne

These ffollowing persons Did nott appeare Viz^t

John Archer	Hellebrandt Lodtman
Livie Larrow	Jacob Brown Alis y ^e Noorman
Maghell DeMott	Warnar Hornebeak
Euert Pelce	John Lowrance
Symon Pelce	Symon Larow
Terrick Claes Dewitt	Cornelis Hogoboom
Wallraven Demont Senior	Cornelis y ^e Duitcher
Dirrick Schepmous	Gombart Powlasin
Matthis Tennick	Jn ^o : Meueson. Alis Jn De pape
Claes Tunis	William Wallaffish
Gisbert Crum	Jn ^o Pollin
Arre Gerritt Van fleitt	Antony Bussalin
Dirrick Van fleitt	Gerritt Aylberts
Jn ^o : Lodtman	Dirrick Keizer
Jury Lodtman	THOMAS CHAMBERS

IX.

PAPERS

RELATING TO

The Invasion of New-York

AND

The Burning of Schenectady

BY

THE FRENCH.

1690.

PROJECT OF THE CHEVALIER DE CALLIERES,

GOVERNOR OF MONTREAL AND COMMANDING BY COMMISSION THE
TROOPS AND MILITIA OF CANADA, REGARDING THE PRESENT STATE
OF AFFAIRS OF THAT COUNTRY. JANUARY, 1689.

[Paris Doc. IV.]

To Monseigneur, the Marquis of Seignelay.

As the recent Revolution in England will change the face of American affairs it becomes necessary to adopt entirely new measures to secure Canada against the great dangers with which it is threatened.

Chevalier Andros, now Governor General of New England and New York, having already declared in his letters to M. de Denonville that he took all the Iroquois under his protection as subjects of the Crown of England and having prevented them returning to M. de Denonville to make peace with us, there is no longer reason to hope for its conclusion through the English nor for the alienation of the Iroquois from the close union which exists with those in consequence of the great advantages they derive from thence, the like to which we cannot offer for divers reasons.

Chevalier Andros is a protestant as well as the whole English Colony so that there is no reason to hope that he will remain faithful to the King of England [James II.] and we must expect that he will not only urge the Iroquois to continue the war against us but that he will even add Englishmen to them to lead them and seize the posts of Niagara, Michilimakinak and others proper to render him master of all the Indians our allies, according to the project they have long since formed, and which they began to execute when we declared war against the Iroquois and when we captured 70 Englishmen who were going to take possession of Michilimakinak, one of the most important posts of Canada; our

entrepôt for the Fur Trade and the residence of the Superior of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers, Missionaries among our Savages, and which belongs, incontestably, to us.

It is to be expected, then, that they are about to endeavour to invest all Canada and raise all the Savages against us, in order to deprive us wholly of every sort of Trade and draw it all to themselves by means of the cheap bargains of merchandize they can give them, nearly a half less than our Frenchmen can afford theirs, for reasons which will be, elsewhere, explained, and thus become masters of all the peltries; a trade which sustains Canada and constitutes one of the chief benefits that France derives from that Colony.

No sooner will the English have ruined our Trade with the Savages than uniting with them they will be in a position to fall on us, burn and sack our settlements, scattered along the River St. Lawrence to Quebec, without our being able to prevent them, having no fortress capable of arresting them.

Things being thus disposed, the only means to avoid this misfortune is to anticipate it by the expedition which will be hereafter explained and which I offer to execute forthwith, if it please His Majesty to confide its direction to me on account of the particular knowledge I have acquired of the affairs of that country during five years that I had the honour to serve His Majesty and to command his troops and military there, after twenty years service in the army.

The plan is, to go straight to Orange (Albany) the most advanced town of New-York, one hundred leagues from Montreal, which I would undertake to carry, and to proceed thence to seize Manathe, the capital of that Colony situated on the seaside; on condition of being furnished with supplies necessary for the success of the expedition.

I demand for that only the troops at present maintained by His Majesty in Canada if it be pleasing to him to fill them up by a reinforcement of soldiers which they require in consequence of sickness that has produced the deaths of many among them.

These troops number 35 companies which at 50 men each ought to give 1750. Yet at the review made when I left, there were

found only about 1300, so that 450 soldiers are still required to complete them ; thus it would be necessary that His Majesty should please to order the levy of at least 400 men, and to have them enlisted as quick as possible in order that they may be embarked in the first vessels.

The use I propose to make of these 1700 men is to take "the pick" (*l'elite*) of them to the number of 1400 and to adjoin to them the elite of the Militia to the number of 600, so as to carry these 2000 men necessary on this expedition ; leaving the 300 remaining soldiers to guard the principal outposts at the head of our Colony in order to prevent the Iroquois seizing and burning them whilst we should be in the field.

I propose embarking these 2000 men, with the supplies necessary for their subsistence in a sufficient number of canoes and flat Batteaux which we already employed in the two last Campaigns against the Iroquois.

My design is, to lead them by the Richelieu River into Lake Champlain as far as a Carrying Place which is within three leagues of the Albany River that runs to Orange.¹ I shall conceal this expedition, which must be kept very secret, by saying that the King has commanded me to proceed at the head of His troops and Militia to the Iroquois Country to dictate Peace to them on the conditions it has pleased His Majesty to grant them without the interference of the English, inasmuch as the Iroquois are his true subjects ; without letting any one know our intention of attacking the English until we have arrived at the point whence I shall send to tell the Iroquois, by some of their Nation, that I am not come to wage war against them but only to reduce the English, who have caused our division, and to re-establish the good friendship that formerly existed between us ; therefore they had better avoid coming to their aid if they wish not to be treated with the greatest rigor, the said English being unable to protect them from the force I lead against them, and that I shall turn against the said Iroquois, if they dare assist them

As the Batteaux cannot proceed further than the Carrying

¹ This "Carrying Place" or portage is now traversed by that section of the Champlain Canal extending from Fort Anne to Sandy Hill.

Place, my intention is to erect there a small log fort (*un petit fort de pieux terrassés*) which I shall have built in three days, and to leave 200 men in it to guard the Batteaux; thence march direct to Orange, embarking our supplies on the River in canoes which we shall bring and which can be convoyed by land, we marching with the troops along the river as an escort.

I calculate to seize in passing some English Villages and Settlements where I shall find provisions and other conveniences for attacking the town of Orange.

That town is about as large as Montreal, surrounded by picquets at one end of which is an Earthen Fort defended by palisades and consisting of four small bastions. There is a garrison of 150 men of three companies in the fort and some pieces of Cannon. Said town of Orange may contain about 150 houses and 300 inhabitants capable of bearing arms, the majority of whom are Dutch and some French Refugees with some English.

After having invested the Town and summoned it to surrender with promise not to pillage if it capitulate, I propose in case of resistance to cut or burn the palisades, in order to afford an opening, and enter there sword in hand and seize the fort. These being only about 14 feet high can be easily escalated by means of the conveniences we shall find, when Masters of the town, or by blowing in the gate with a few petards or two small field pieces which may be of use to me and I shall find means of conveying there, if his Maty will please to have them furnished at La Rochelle to take with me, and some grenades and other munitions, a list of which I shall hand in separately, and which will be deducted from the funds His Majesty destines for Canada so as not to increase the expenditure of preceding years.

After I shall have become Master of the town and fort of Orange, which I expect to achieve before the English can afford it any succor, my intention is to leave a garrison of 200 men in the fort with sufficient supplies which I shall find in the City, and to disarm all the Inhabitants, granting at His Majesty's pleasure pardon to the French deserters and inhabitants I shall find there, so as to oblige them to follow me.

I shall seize all the barks, batteaux and canoes that are at

Orange, to embark my force on the river which is navigable down to Manathe, and I shall embark with the troops the necessary provisions and ammunition, and some pieces of Cannon to be taken from Fort Orange to serve in the attack on Manathe, [New York.]

This place consists of a town composed of about 200 houses and can put about 400 inhabitants under arms. They are divided into four Companies of Infantry of 50 men each, and three Companies of Cavalry of the same number, the horses being very common in that country. This town is not enclosed, being situated on a Peninsula at the mouth of the river that falls into a Bay forming a fine harbour. It is defended by a Fort faced with stone having four Bastions with several pieces of cannon, commanding the Port on one side and the town on the other.

I contemplate first carrying the town by assault, it being all open, and making use of the houses nearest the Fort to approach the latter; forming a battery of the Cannon I shall have brought from Orange and of that I may find in the stores of the town, where the vessels arm and disarm.

It is necessary for the success of this Expedition that H. M. give orders to two of the ships of War destined this year to escort the merchantmen who go to Canada and Acadie or the fishermen who go for Cod to the Great Bank, to come after having convoyed the merchants, towards the end of August, into the Gulf of Manathe and cruize there during the month of September, as well to prevent succor from Europe which may arrive from England or Boston, as to enter the port when I on my arrival shall give the signal agreed upon, so as to aid us in capturing the Fort which they may cannonade from aboard their ships whilst I attack it on land. They can in case of necessity even land some marines (to replace the 400 men I shall have left on the road guarding Orange and the Batteaux); also some pieces of Cannon if we require them. They might reembark and return to France in the month of October after the capture of the Fort and carry the intelligence thereof.

After we should have become masters of the town and fort of Manathe I shall cause the Inhabitants to be disarmed and send my

Canadians back by the Albany river to Orange on their way to their batteaux and on their return home. I should winter at Manathe with all the troops I would have brought with me except the 200 soldiers left to guard Orange; and as I shall have nothing to fear from the land side, being master of the rivers, I would work through the winter to strengthen myself against attacks of the English whilst waiting until H. M. should be pleased to send what may be necessary to secure this important conquest.

It would render H. M. absolute Master of the whole of Iroquois who derive from this Colony all the arms and ammunition with which they make war on us. This will afford the means to disarm them whenever considered necessary, and thereby impose on them such laws as H. M. may please; the town of Boston, the capital of New England being too far from them to afford any aid.

Having mastered the Iroquois we shall have equal control of all the other Savages who will come without hesitation and bring us all their peltries. This will cause the trade of our Colony to flourish; will considerably augment H. M.'s revenues and eventually diminish the expences he is obliged to incur for the preservation of Canada.

It will firmly establish the Christian Religion as well among the Iroquois as among the other Savages to whom we shall be able to speak as Masters when they are encircled on the side of Canada as well as of New York. It will secure and facilitate the Cod fishery which is carried on along our Coasts of la Cadie and on the Great Bank. It will give H. M. one of the finest harbours in America which can be entered during almost all seasons of the year in less than one month of very easy navigation; whilst that from France to Quebec cannot be prosecuted except in summer on account of the Ice which closes the River St. Lawrence, itself long and perilous.

It may be objected to this plan, that the Colony of Orange and Manathe may remain faithful to the King of England, and in this case it would not be apropos to attack it and draw down an open war with that English Colony to the prejudice of the Treaty of Neutrality concluded between the two nations.

It may be answered to this, that the colony of Manathe and

Orange, being the same as that formerly called New Netherland which the English took from the Dutch, and the greater part of which is still of this latter nation and all Protestants, it is not to be doubted but that they would receive the orders of the Prince of Orange and even force their Governor, did he not consent, to acknowledge him, and therefore we must look on as certain a war between that Colony and us, and not give it the time to push its intrigues with the Savages to ruin us by means of them, if we do not anticipate them. And in case that, contrary to all appearances, they remain faithful to the King of England during the general rebellion of the English, we might, if H. M. thought proper, being on terms with that King, confide to him the secret of this expedition, draw from him an order to the Commandant of Orange and of Manathe to surrender these places into H. M.'s hands, who would keep them for him and prevent the Rebels becoming masters of them, so as to have an opportunity to treat them as rebels did they not obey that order, being besides this, in a position to force them to it, on condition of negotiating eventually with the King for that Colony, which is the only means of securing Canada, firmly establishing Religion, Trade and the Kings authority throughout all North America. If the favorable opportunity which presents of becoming master of that Colony be neglected, it may surely be calculated that, through its intrigues with the Iroquois and other Savages, it will destroy Canada in a little time; whose ruin will entail that of the establishment at Hudson's bay, the beaver and other peltry trade; that of Acadia, the local fishery, and that of Newfoundland; and if we be forced to abandon Canada, it will, hereafter, in consequence of the frequent chasing of our fishermen by English vessels, render very difficult and dangerous for H. M.'s subjects the Codfishery on the Great Bank, which produces several millions to France, and is one of the most profitable investments that we have.

MEMOIR OF INSTRUCTIONS TO COUNT DE FRONTENAC

RESPECTING THE EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW-YORK. 7TH JUNE, 1689.

[Paris Doc. IV.]

The King, having examined the proposition made him by Sieur Chevalier de Callières Bonnevüe of Montreal to attack New-York with his Majesty's troops in Canada and a number of the militia of that country, has the more willingly assented to it as he knows that the English inhabiting that quarter have resolved since the last year to excite the Iroquois Nation, His Majesty's subjects, and force them to wage war against the French, having furnished them for that purpose with arms and ammunition, and endeavoured in every way, even to the prejudice of the King of England's orders and the faith of Treaties, to usurp the trade of the French in the country in possession of which they have been from all time.

To accomplish this project His Majesty has given orders to Sieur Begon to prepare the munitions necessary for the expedition and has caused two of his ships of war to be equipped in the port of Rochefort under the command of Sieur de la Caffinière whom he has ordered to follow exactly the directions which said Sieur de Frontenac will give him regarding this expedition.

He will set out with all diligence to embark at Rochelle in one of the ships and sail without loss of time for the entrance of the gulf of St. Lawrence and Campseaux bay, where he will embark in the best of the merchantmen that will follow and repair to Quebec.

* * * * *

Therefore on his arrival at Quebec he will take advantage of the state in which he will find things, to complete the suitable arrangements for departing with batteaux, canoes and all the equipage necessary for this expedition with the Chevalier de Callières who will command the troops under his orders.

He will despatch by land or water as he shall deem most certain, orders and instructions to Sieur de la Caffinière, to the place he will have designated, as to what he shall have to do, in

order to repair to Manathe, he making use of the cypher which shall have been furnished him.

He will order him to sail directly and without undertaking any thing along his course, follow the coast of Acadie (where he will leave in passing what he shall have for the said coast of Acadie) down to Manathe, and order him to anchor as safely as possible and to observe well the quarter where he will make his landing when said Sieur de Frontenac shall have arrived there.

He will give orders to the Sieur de la Caffinière to seize the vessels he will find in the bay of the said Manathe, without exposing himself to any accident that may render him unable to cooperate in that enterprise.

As it is impossible to fix on a certain rendezvous for the arrival of said vessels at Manathe at the same time that the Sieur de Frontenac will arrive there with the troops, without alarming those of that place, the two vessels of war must go right into the bay, more especially as the attack on the frontier post of New-York will give warning to those of Manathe; and the vessels thus arriving before the land forces, will cause a diversion.

* * * * *

The said Sieur de Frontenac having informed himself of the route he is to take, of which he will make more particular enquiries on the spot, as regard the convenience, security and expedition of the troops, His Majesty will not enter into further detail on this subject, nor on the attack on Orange and Manatte nor on any thing that relates thereto. He will solely recommend him to act as much as possible, in such a manner that those of Orange may not be advised of his march, so that he may surprise this first post and cut in below Orange to secure the number of vessels he may require to descend on Manathe, and to place things in such order as not to be uneasy when he shall depart for and be established at, the said Manathe. For this purpose he ought to leave a confidential officer at Orange with such detachment as he will find necessary to be left there, with orders to be on his guard and to fortify himself, and obtain all information possible for the success of the expedition against Manathe. He will also cause all the inhabitants to be disarmed and their effects to be seized, giving them to hope every

good treatment with which they can flatter themselves until he entertains no further apprehensions; then His Majesty desires that what is hereinafter prescribed to him, may be executed.

He wishes particular care to be taken to prevent any plunder of provisions, merchandize, ammunition, property, cattle, utensils and principal household furniture; and as his object must be to place Forts Orange and Manathe in a state of defence, and to support the Frenchmen who will have remained there, he must not only victual the forts for the longest time possible but collect there all he can of provisions, and in default of a sufficient quantity of magazines in said forts, he will lock them up in the towns, taking care not to touch those which he should deposit in said forts except when obliged.

His Majesty does not wish any suspected inhabitants be left in that Colony. His intention also is that an exact Inventory be made in the settlements and plantations by Commissary Gaillard (whom His Majesty wishes him to take with him,) of all cattle, grain, merchandize, furniture, effects and utensils he may find in each of the said settlements; that he select from among the inhabitants of Canada and the officers and soldiers of the troops those who will be found qualified to maintain and improve them, and that he furnish these with farms in His Majesty's name leaving them of the provisions that will be found there, as much as shall be necessary to support them until they have produced some; and he will examine, one with another, those to whom he will think proper to grant said farms, so as to distribute the greater number in proportion to their skill and strength, observing to associate several in the same settlement when he shall deem such necessary. He will inform his Majesty of all he shall have done in this regard by sending him the enumeration of all that he shall have left in each such settlement, and furnish his opinion of the Quit rents which they will be in a condition to pay him. After having settled on what he shall judge absolutely necessary to leave to those to whom he will have given these farms, he will place in store all the surplus, such as grain, whale oil and all sorts of merchandize and other principal effects of which also inventories shall be made to be equally sent to his Majesty.

He will examine into the means of distributing said property so that from what he will acquire there, his Majesty may order, on his advice, the gratuities he shall judge fitting to bestow on said militia, the army and navy officers, soldiers and sailors who shall have distinguished themselves and given individual marks of that satisfaction which he expects from their zeal and industry on this occasion.

If he find among the inhabitants of New York, whether English or Dutch, any Catholics on whose fidelity he considers he can rely, he may leave them in their habitations after making them take the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, provided there be not too many of them and they do not excite any suspicion; having regard, in that, only to what will best promote the preservation and advantage of the Colony and its security at the same time as well as that of the French.

He may likewise retain, if he think proper, mechanics and other working people necessary to cultivate the land and work at fortifications in the capacity of prisoners, distributing them among the French inhabitants who may require them, until matters being in a state of entire security, they may be restored to liberty.

The officers and principal inhabitants, from whom ransoms can be exacted, must be detained in prison.

Respecting all other foreigners, men, women and children, His Majesty deems it proper that they should be put out of the Colony and sent to New England, Pennsylvania and to such other quarters as shall be considered expedient, either by land or sea, together or in divisions—all according as he shall find will best secure their dispersion and prevent them, by reunion, affording enemies an opportunity to get up expeditions against that Colony.

He will send to France the French Refugees whom he will find there, particularly those of the pretended Reformed religion: When he will have captured the fort and conquered that Colony he must think particularly of his return to Canada to convey thither the Militia and Soldiers he shall deem necessary for the King's service, according to the disposition in which he shall find things both as regards the Iroquois as well on the side of Canada as on that of New York, and in proportion to what

troops he will calculate necessary to be left to guard the forts and country.

And as nothing appears more important, after his expedition, than to take advantage of the season to return to Canada, he must, in case he cannot execute all that is above contained, confide its execution to *Sieur Chevalier de Callières*, giving him orders conformable and according to what he shall consider most fitting the King's service; His Majesty having determined to confer on the said *Chevalier de Callières* the Government of New York, and of the town and fort of *Manathe* in particular, under the authority of His Majesty's Lieutenant General in New France.

He will select, before leaving, the officers and soldiers he will deem proper to leave at New York and put over the posts those officers best qualified to maintain and fortify them.

In case he find, after having provided sufficient troops for New York and concluded on the number of soldiers necessary for His Majesty's service in Canada, that he has a superabundance, he can send some to France in the King's Ships, and retain thirty-five to forty men to be sent eventually to *Acadia*.

His Majesty is very glad to observe to him on this head, that he must regulate himself, as regards the number of men he will leave in New York, by the means of subsistence there and the necessity of guarding the country; and he will also consider that his return to Canada will be more convenient for those he will have to convey back there, when they will not be more numerous.

In case, contrary to all appearance, the season be too far advanced to admit his return to Canada during the remainder of the Fall, he will give advice of his expedition and sojourn there until the Spring, and he will employ himself during winter in securing his conquest and waging war on the enemy.

However that be, he ought if he be obliged to remain, either personally or through *Chevalier de Callières*, if that be convenient, profit by circumstances to conclude a solid and advantageous peace with the *Iroquois*, whom he will, doubtless find disposed to

sue for it, being deprived of aid from and communication with the English.

In order to deprive the English of the facility of undertaking land expeditions against New York from New England, His Majesty desires that the English Settlements adjoining Manathe and further off if necessary, be destroyed; and that the more distant be put under contribution.

He will send an exact report of all the observations he will be able to make regarding the trade of the new inhabitants of New York, the security of the navigation thence to France, the communication with Canada, so that His Majesty may give him on those points the necessary orders to derive from that conquest all the advantages to be expected from it. But should this expedition contrary to all appearances, and for reasons which His Majesty cannot foresee, not be executed, he will convey his orders to the said *Sieur de la Caffinière* to make war against the English, and to range along the Coasts of New England and New York to capture there as many prizes as possible, and to remain there until he have no more provisions than are necessary for his return to France.

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN CANADA FROM THE DEPARTURE OF THE VESSELS, FROM THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER 1689 TO THE MONTH OF NOVEMBER 1690. BY MONS. DE MONSEIGNAT, COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE MARINE IN CANADA.

[Paris Doc. IV.]

[EXTRACT.] The orders received by M. le Comte (de Frontenac) to commence hostilities against New England and New York, which had declared for the Prince of Orange, afforded him considerable pleasure, and were very necessary for the country. He allowed no more time to elapse before carrying them into execution than was required to send off some despatches to France—immediately after which he determined to organize three different detachments, to attack those rebels at all points at the same mo

ment, and to punish them at various places for having afforded protection to our enemies, the Mohawks. The first party was to rendezvous at Montreal, and proceed towards Orange; the second at Three Rivers, and to make a descent on New York, at some place between Boston and Orange;¹ and the third was to depart from Quebec, and gain the seaboard between Boston and Pentagouet, verging towards Acadia. They all succeeded perfectly well, and I shall communicate to you the details. * * * *

The detachment which formed at Montreal, may have been composed of about two hundred and ten men, namely: eighty savages from the *Sault*, and from *La Montagne*; sixteen Algonquins; and the remainder Frenchmen—all under the command of the Sieur Le Moyne de Sainte Helene, and Lieutenant Daillebout de Mantet, both of whom are Canadians. The Sieurs le Moyne d' Iberville and Repentigny de Montesson commanded under these. The best qualified Frenchmen were, the Sieurs de Bonrepos and de La Brosse, Calvinist officers, the Sieur la Moyne de Blainville, Le Bert du Chêne, and la Marque de Montigny, who all served as volunteers. They took their departure from Montreal at the commencement of February.

After having marched for the course of five or six days, they called a council to determine the route they should follow, and the point they should attack.

The Indians demanded of the French what was their intention. Messieurs de Sainte Helene and Mantet replied that they had left in the hope of attacking Orange, if possible, as it is the Capital of New York and a place of considerable importance, though they had no orders to that effect, but generally to act according as they should judge on the spot of their chances of success, without running too much risk. This appeared to the savages somewhat rash. They represented the difficulties and the weakness of the party for so bold an undertaking. There was even one among them who, his mind filled with the recollections of the disasters which he had witnessed last year, enquired of our Frenchmen, "since when had they become so desperate?" In reply to

¹ This detachment entered New Hampshire where they burned a place called Salmon Falls.

their raillery, 'twas answered that it was our intention, now, to regain the honor of which our misfortunes had deprived us, and the sole means to accomplish that was to carry Orange, or to perish in so glorious an enterprise.

As the Indians, who had an intimate acquaintance with the localities, and more experience than the French, could not be brought to agree with the latter, it was determined to postpone coming to a conclusion until the party should arrive at the spot where the two routes separate—the one leading to Orange, and the other to Corlear (Schenectady). In the course of the journey, which occupied eight days, the Frenchmen judged proper to diverge towards Corlear, according to the advice of the Indians; and this road was taken without calling a new council. Nine days more elapsed before they arrived, having experienced inconceivable difficulties, and having been obliged to march up to their knees in water, and to break the ice with their feet in order to find a solid footing.

They arrived within two leagues of Corlear about four o'clock in the evening, and were harangued by the great Mohawk chief of the Iroquois from the Sault. He urged on all to perform their duty, and to lose all recollections of their fatigue, in the hope of taking ample revenge for the injuries they had received from the Iroquois at the solicitation of the English, and of washing them out in the blood of the traitors. This savage was without contradiction the most considerable of his tribe—an honest man—as full of spirit, prudence and generosity as it was possible, and capable at the same time of the grandest undertakings. Shortly after four Squaws were discovered in a wigwam who gave every information necessary for the attack on the town. The fire found in their hut served to warm those who were benumbed, and they continued their route, having previously detached Giguieres, a Canadian, with nine Indians, on the look out. They discovered no one, and returned to join the main body within one league of Corlear.

At eleven of the clock that night, they came within sight of the town, resolved to defer the assault until two o'clock of the morning. But the excessive cold admitted of no further delay.

The town of Corlear forms a sort of oblong with only two gates—one opposite the road we had taken; the other leading to Orange, which is only six leagues distant. Messieurs de Sainte Helene and de Mantet were to enter at the first which the squaws pointed out, and which in fact was found wide open. Messieurs d'Iberville and de Montesson took the left with another detachment, in order to make themselves masters of that leading to Orange. But they could not discover it, and returned to join the remainder of the party. A profound silence was every where observed, until the two commanders, who separated, at their entrance into the town for the purpose of encircling it, had met at the other extremity.

The signal of attack was given Indian fashion, and the entire force rushed on simultaneously. M. de Mantet placed himself at the head of a detachment, and reached a small fort where the garrison was under arms. The gate was burst in after a good deal of difficulty, the whole set on fire, and all who defended the place slaughtered.

The sack of the town began a moment before the attack on the fort. Few houses made any resistance. M. de Montigny discovered some which he attempted to carry sword in hand, having tried the musket in vain. He received two thrusts of a spear—one in the body and the other in the arm. But M. de Saintè Helene having come to his aid, effected an entrance, and put every one who defended the place to the sword. The Massacre lasted two hours. The remainder of the night was spent in placing sentinels, and in taking some repose.

The house belonging to the Minister was ordered to be saved, so as to take him alive to obtain information from him; but as it was not known it was not spared any more than the others. He was slain and his papers burnt before he could be recognized.

At daybreak some men were sent to the dwelling of Mr. Coudre [Sander], who was Major of the place, and who lived at the other side of the river. He was not willing to surrender, and began to put himself on the defensive with his servants and some Indians; but as it was resolved not to do him any harm, in consequence of the good treatment that the French had formerly experienced at

his hands, M. d'Iberville and the great Mohawk proceeded thither alone, promised him quarter for himself, his people, and his property, whereupon he laid down his arms, on parole, entertaining them in his fort, and returned with them to see the commandants of the town.

In order to occupy the savages, who would otherwise have taken to drink and thus rendered themselves unable for defence, the houses had already been set on fire. None were spared in the town but one house belonging to Coudre, and that of a widow who had six children, whither M. de Montigny had been carried when wounded. All the rest were consumed. The lives of between fifty and sixty persons, old men, women and children, were spared, they having escaped the first fury of the attack. Some twenty Mohawks were also spared, in order to show them that it was the English and not they against whom the grudge was entertained. The loss on this occasion in houses, cattle and grain, amounts to more than four hundred thousand livres. There were upwards of eighty well built and well furnished houses in the town.

The return march commenced with thirty prisoners. The wounded, who were to be carried, and the plunder, with which all the Indians and some Frenchmen were loaded, caused considerable inconvenience. Fifty good horses were brought away. Sixteen only of these reached Montreal. The remainder were killed for food on the road.

Sixty leagues from Corlear the Indians began to hunt, and the French not being able to wait for them, being short of provisions, continued their route, having detached Messieurs d'Iberville and Du Chesne with two savages before them to Montreal. On the same day, some Frenchmen, who doubtless were very much fatigued, lost their way. Fearful that they should be obliged to keep up with the main body, and believing themselves in safety having eighty Indians in their rear, they were found missing from the camp. They were waited for next day until eleven o'clock, but in vain, and no account has since been received of them.

Two hours after, forty men more left the main body without acquainting the commander, continued their route by themselves,

and arrived within two leagues of Montreal one day ahead, so that there were not more than fifty or sixty men together. The evening on which they should arrive at Montreal, being extremely fatigued from fasting and bad roads, the rear fell away from M. de Sainte Helene, who was in front with an Indian guide, and who could not find a place suitable for camping nearer than three or four leagues of the spot where he expected to halt. He was not rejoined by M. de Mantet and the others until far advanced in the night. Seven have not been found. Next day on parade, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, a soldier arrived who announced that they had been attacked by fourteen or fifteen savages, and that six had been killed. The party proceeded somewhat afflicted at this accident, and arrived at Montreal at 3 o'clock, p. m.

Such, Madame, is the account of what passed at the taking of Corlear. The French lost but twenty-one men, namely four Indians and seventeen Frenchmen. Only one Indian and one Frenchman were killed at the capture of the town. The others were lost on the road.

[From Mortgage Book B, in County Clk's Office, Albany.]

Albany y^e 9th day of February 16³²

Die Sabbathi.

This morning about 5 o'Clock y^e alarm was brought here by Symon Schermerhoorn who was shott threw his Thigh y^t y^e french and Indians had murthered y^e People of Skinnechtady; haveing got into y^e Towne about 11 or 12 a Clock there being no Watch Kept (y^e Inhabitants being so negligent & Refractory) and y^t he had much adoe to Escape they being very numerous. They fyred severall times at him at last throw his Thigh and wounded his horse and was come over Canatagione¹ to bring y^e news.

The allarm being given all People Repared to there Post y^e fort fyred severall gunns to give y^e alarm to y^e farmers but few

¹ Now, Niskayuna.

heard there being such an Extream Snow above Knee Deep Severall y^e People haveing Escaped y^e Cruelty of y^e french and there Indians came Running here & told us y^e Village was a fyre and y^t they had much adoe to Escape for all y^e streets were full of french and Indians, & y^t many People were murthered and y^t y^e enemy were marching hither which news was Continually Confirmed till afternoon Letters were sent forthwith to Sopus for y^e assistance of a hundred men an Expreste sent to Skachkook but by reason of y^e highwater—deep snow & yse could not Proceed, notice was given to all y^e farmers of Kinderhook Claverak &^{ca} of y^e sad news, Some horse men sent out to Discover y^e Enemies force and there march but were forced to Return y^e snow being so Deep yet some were sent out again who got thither, Laurence y^e Indian with y^e Maquase y^t were in Town were sent out also to Skinnechtady to Dispatch posts to y^e Maquase Castles for all y^e Indians to come doune, but unhappily sa^d Indians coming to Skinnechtady were soe much amazed to see so many People murthered and Destroyed that they omitted y^e sending up to y^e Maquase Castles according to there Engagement, While y^e Enemy was at N. Scotia a man came to Ensign Joh: Sander Glen and said he would goe to y^e Maquase Castles and warn y^e Maquase to come doune who was ordered to goe in all haste but coming to y^e Upper Plantations went for fear along with some of y^e oy^r Inhabitants into y^e Woods and never went to y^e Maquase Castles, this night we gott a letter from Skinnechtady Informing us y^t the Enemy y^t had done y^t Mischieffe there were about one hundred and fifty or 200 men but that there were 1400 men in all; One army for Albany & anoy^r for Sopus which hindred much y^e marching of any force out of y^e Citty fearing y^t y^e enemy might watch such an opportunity.

The 10th day of February.

Present. Pr Schuyler May^r D. Wessels Rec^r, J. Bleecker, C. Bull, Capt Staets, Ald. Shaick, Ald Ryckman, Joh. Cuyler, Ens. Bennett.

Resolved y^t Capt Jonathan Bull be sent wth 5 men out of each Compy to Skinnechtady to bury y^e dead there & if y^e Indians be come doune to joyn with them & Pursue y^e Enemy.

Instructions for Capt Jonathan Bull.

You are to goe wth all Convanient speed with . . . men to Skinnechtady & there Bury y^e dead which are Killed by y^e Enemy and give such succor and Relieffe to y^e Poor People left alive at Skinnechtady as y^u can, and if there be any considerable number of friendly Indians at Skinnechtady y^u are wth all speed to Pursue & follow after the french and Indian Enemy & them Spoyle and Destroy what in y^u Lyes and use all means Imaginable to Rescue y^e Prisoners which they have Carried along with them.

You are to take Especiall Care to have always Spyes and Skouts out on both sides of y^e Path where y^u March y^r Men and to be as Carefull as Possible for ambushes of y^e Enemy and to Keep y^r men in good order and Discipline

LIST OF Y^E PEOPLE KILD AND DESTROYED

BY Y^E FRENCH OF CANADA AND THERE INDIANS AT SKINNECHTADY
 TWENTY MILES TO Y^E WESTWARD OF ALBANY BETWEEN SATUR-
 DAY AND SUNDAY Y^E 9th DAY OF FEBRUARY 16 ^{$\frac{8}{9}$} .

Myndert Wemp kild	. . . . .	1
Jan van Eps and his Sonne & 2 of his Children kild	. . . . .	4
a negroe of dito Van Eps	. . . . .	1
Serjt Church of Cap ^t Bulls Comp ^y	. . . . .	1
Barent Jansse Kild and Burnd his Sonne Kild	. . . . .	2
And ^s Arentse Bratt shott and Burnt & also his child ⁿ	. . . . .	2
Mary Viele wife of Dowe Aukes & her 2 children kild	. . . . .	3
and his Negro Woman Francyn	. . . . .	1
Mary Alolff Wife of Cornelis Viele Jun ^r Shott	. . . . .	1
Sweer Teunise Shott & burnt his wife kild & burnt	all	2
Antje Janz daughter of Jan Spoor kild & burnt	in	1
Item 4 Negroes of y ^e said Sweer Teunise y ^e same	one	4
death	. . . . .	4
Enos Talmidge Leift of Capt Bull kild & burnt	house	1
Hend Meese Vrooman & Bartholomeus Vrooman	. . . . .	2
kild & burnt	. . . . .	2

Item 2 Negroes of Hend Meese y ^e same death . . .	2
Gerrit Marcellis and his Wife & childe kild . . .	3
Robt Alexander sould ^r of Capt Bulls Shott . . .	1
Robt hesseling shott	1
Sander y ^e sonne of gysbert gerritse kild & burnt . . .	1
Jan Roeloffse de goyer burnt in y ^e house . . .	1
Ralph grant a souldier in y ^e fort shott . . .	1
David Christoffelse & his wife w th 4 Children all burnt in there house	6
Joris Aertse shott and burnt W ^m Pieterse kild . . .	2
Joh: Potman kild his wife kild & her skalp taken off . . .	2
Dom ^e Petrus Tassemaker y ^e Minister kild & burnt in his house	1
Frans harmense kild	1
Engel the wife of Adam Vroman shot & burnt her childe the brains dashed out against y ^e wall . . .	2
Reynier Schaets and his sonne kild	2
Daniel Andries & George 2 souldiers of Capt Bull a french girl Prisoner among y ^e Mohogs kild . . .	2
A Maquase Indian kild	1
Johannes y ^e sonne of Symon Skermerhoorn	1
3 Negroes of Symon Skermerhoorn	3
In all . . .	60

LYST OF Y^e PERSONES WHICH Y^e FRENCH AND THERE INDIANS HAVE
TAKEN PRISONERS ATT SKINNECHTADY AND CARIED TO CANIDA Y^e
9th DAY OF FEBRUARY 16⁸⁹

Johannes Teller and his negroe	2
John Wemp sonne of Myndt Wemp & 2 negroes . . .	3
Symon, Abraham, Phillip, Dirck & Claes Groot all 5 sonnes of Symon Groot	5
Jan Baptist sonne of Jan Van Epps	1
Albert & Johannes Vedder sonnes of harme Vedder . . .	2
Isaack Cornelise Switts & his Eldest sonne	2
a negroe of Barent Janse	1
Arnout y ^e sonne of Arnout Corn: Viele y ^e Interp ^r . . .	1

Stephen y ^e sonne of Gysbert Gerritse	1
Lawrence sonne of Claes Lawrence Purmurent	1
Arnout sonne of Pauly Janse	1
Barent y ^e sonne of Adam Vroman & y ^e neger	2
Claes sonne of Frans Harmense	1
Stephen adopted sonne of Geertje Bouts	1
John Webb a souldier Belonging to Capt Bull	1
David Burt belonging to y ^e same Comp ^e	1
Joseph Marks of y ^e same Comp ^e	1
In all	<u>27</u>

THE WAY HOW Y^e BLOODY FRENCH AND INDIANS COMMITTED THIS TRAGEDY WAS THUS.

After they were gott into y^e Toune without being discovered (no watch or guard being kept, notwithstanding several gentⁿ of Albany no longer then 3 days before were up there to Perswade y^m to it) The french & y^e Indians besett each house and after they had murdered y^e People they burnt all y^e houses and barns Cattle &ca Except 5 @ 6 : which were saved by Capt Sander to whom they were kinde as they had Particular orders so to be by reason of y^e many kindnesse shewne by his wife to y^e french Prisoners.

Albany y^e 22 day of february 16⁸⁸.

Symon Van Ness and Andries Barents who went out y^e first wth y^e Maquaese returning told ; they had Pursued y^e Enemy to y^e great Lake & would have overtaken them had they not been spyed by some of y^e Enemy Indians that went out to looke for 2 Negroe boys, y^t were Runn away from them, & y^t y^e Indians & Christians were all Tyred when they came to y^e Croune Point neer y^e Lake ; some went further till they came to where y^e Ise was Smoth ; where the french had with horses that they carried from Skinnechtady & Skeets and Yse Spurrs, made all the way they could over y^e Lake in so much that our People could gain nothing upon them ; whereas at first they went 2 of there days journeys in one ; neverthelesse Laurence y^e Maquase and about 140 Mohoggs & River Indians are gone in Pursuite of them, & will follow them quite to Canida.

JACOB LEISLER TO MARYLAND.

[From Vol. in Sec's Office, endorsed, "Duke of York's Charter, Laws, Papers &c. in Leisler's time. I."]

March 4, 1689 [O. S.] In fort William.

To our great grieve I must acquaint you of the sad and deplorable massacre which happened at skenectady near Albany by the french and their Indians the 19th of february last betwixt Saturday & Sunday at eleaven of the clock in the night 200 men fell upon them & most barbarously murdered sixty two men women & children & burned the place left but 5 or 6 houses unburned carried away captive 27 the rest escaped many of which being about 25 persons much damnified by the french women with chyld ript up, children alive thrown into the flames, some their heads dashed ag^t the doors & windows all occasioned by their neglect of their not watching, derying to obey under the command of the Commission of Sir Edmond, the s^d commander being onely spared withall which belongs to him a safeguard being sett in his house & he himselfe to release the prisoners he desired last Nov'ber a certaine number of rebellious people at Albany calling themselves the convention & ruling by the arbitrary Comission of Sir Edmond & encouraged & supported by some of the wicked creatures of Sir Edmond, desired from me assistance of men gunes ammunition & money being afraied of the french to whom we have sent 52 men 50^{lbs} match 950^{lbs} powder, boullits etc weh arryving there ag^t their expectatione would not receive them, & were left there by the Inhabitants desire, the s^d rebels with their fort kept the Inhabitants under a faire. I have sent up this Winter & commissioned one Captⁿ with 25 men to Joine with our confederate Indians to warre ag^t the french at Canada, who were hindred by the s^d rebels, who proclaimed upon paine of being punished for rebels if they mett above four men soe they were prevented to goe, we would else have discovered the enemy & prevented that disaster

fort William March 4th 1689

Honorable Sir Governor of Boston:

Yours of the 8th instant by M^r Pembroke I received & I returne yow many thanks for the care I perceive yow have had for our packet, Since your last wee have received the sad & miserable newes from Skenectedy neere Albany whereof wee understand is laid to your woeful account it is such newes as wee feared long since, Alace what could there be expected of a certaine number of rebellious people that remained rulling under that arbitrary Commissions of sir Edmund at Albany within this province, and encouraged and supported by Connecticoatt by ordering their forces sent thither to observe the directions of the s^d rebels named a Conventione, being well assured the same is supported more especially by that waylerous John Allan the Secretary of that Collony.

THE SAME TO THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY, 31 March 1690.

[Lond. Doc. VII.]

May it please your Lordship—The foregoing being sent via Boston p^r the agents for New England which we hope are safely arrived ere this date, we take leave to add, that [to] a certain village named Schanectede 24 miles to the northward of Albany on Saturday the 9th of Febr. last about 11 a clock at night, came 200 French and Indians near 100 each and attacqued the same whilst it snowed thick, barbarously destroying the Inhabitants all being dutch; they murthered 60 persons, and bore away with them 27 prisoners, wounding some others so that there remain but about one sixth part of them having their cattel, goods and provisions destroyed and arrested from them, the remnant sheltering themselves at Albany, where is provision made for them from New Yorke. Being alarmed by the daily expectations of the French and Indians advancing towards us with a considerable number of 2500 french besides their Indians at Mont-Real, endeavouring to obtaine upon the allyed Indians with us, viz^t The

Macquaes, Oneydauns, Onondades, Cayougaes, Sinnekaes, and Mehekanders who have espoused our cause, we have appointed persons to meet them at Albany in few dayes to consult our best way to intercept the Ennemies march ; The Macquaes having given us a prooffe of their fidelity and courage by pursuing those who destroyed Schenectede even near their own home, taking and slaying twenty five of them who lagged in the reare, and promise to rayse more than 1000 men of theirs to joyne with 400 of ours which we have neare raysed for that intent, keeping the passe upon the lake with a Company of Indians and Christians in number about 50. that upon the enemyes approach, we may be timely notice, lying about 150 miles northward of Albany which we have fortified, to the best of our power and capacities, the fort having 13 canon, 10 Barrells of powder and 60 men in garrison with other habiliments ; the towne palasadoes round and making breast works within, but want canon.

ROBT LIVINGSTON TO SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

Hartford, 14 April 1690.

May it Please y^r Excell^y—I was in hopes Yo^r Excel : should have heard y^e newes of y^e destroying Skinnechtady by y^e French and Indians before your departure y^t your Excel. might y^e more hastned their motion at Whitehall for our Settlement. On y^e 9th of Feby last a Comp^y of 250 French and Indians came upon y^t place when they were all asleep about 11 a Clock at night, and killd and destroyed 60 men women and children, carryed 27 men and boys prisoners and burnt y^e towne except 6 or 7 houses which are saved by Capt. Sander, whom they did not touch, having expresse command to meddle wth none of his relations for his wife's sake, who had always been kinde to y^e French prisoners. The people of that Towne were so bygotted to Leysler that they would not obey any of y^e Magistrates neither would they entertain y^e souldiers sent thither by y^t Convention of all ; nothing but men sent from Leysler would do their turn.

Thus had Leysler perperped y^t poor people by his seditious letters now founde all bloody upon Skinnechtady streets, with the notions of a free trade, boalting &c. and thus they are destroyed; they would not watch, and where Capt. Sander commanded, there they threatened to burn him upon y^e fire, if he came upon the garde. We were much alarm^d at Albany; we sent y^e Maquase y^t were at hand out, and to y^e Maquase Castles; but y^e Messenger being so timorous did not proceed; so y^t it was 3 days before we could get y^e Maquase downe to pursue them, who being joyned with our men, follow'd them to the Great Lake, where y^e Yse being good and y^e French haveing robb'd sundrey horses, put ther plunder upon sleds and so over y^e Lake; however y^e Indians pursued and gott 10, and afterwards 5, and killed 3. Who being examined relate, y^t y^e French design to attacke Albany early in y^e Spring, haveing 120 batoes 100 birch canoes and 12 light mortar peeces and severall other engines ready, and are to come with 1500 men. Poor Sharpe is lame being wounded with a great gunn y^t split when y^e alarm came [to Albany] of Skinnechtady.

JACOB LEISLER TO THE GOVERNOUR OF BARBADOES.

[From Vol. endorsed, Letters in Leislars time &c.]

Ao 1690 : 17 May in fort William.

Honorable Sir—The French of Cannada with their Indianes committed six bloody masacres in this province three, & in New England three, they have destroyed Skanectady a vilage 20 milles from Albany, murdered sixty three men women and children, carried captive 27: & have committed the greatest tyranny imaginable, ryp^t up women with chyld throwed children alive into the flame, dasht others ag^t door post till their brains stuck to it, another murder of eleaven people, and one or two committed since last fall, we send fifty men up to guard that place, but a certaine number of people there maintaining the cômmissions from Sir Edmond Andross & Coll. Dongan deryving from the authority of the late King James would not accept them there, but kept the

for by virtue of the s^d Commission & would not suffer any of them to goe & guard s^d Village being the frontier but send of their people there, by which meanes from treachery cowardice and carelesnes that too unfortunace and to be lamented accident hes hapened there, the river being frozen that noe forces could be sent up the winter, the well meaned people, lodged our souldiers who kept guard in the City whereof the french & Indian (in number of 200 men) had advise the Indianes would not goe there & so altered the designe, and that place was by that meanes spared our Indians pursued them kild & took 25 frenchmen who gave us an account of severall troops out in a designe in the Spring with 2500 french besides their Indianes.

MR. VAN CORTLANDT TO S^R ED. ANDROSS.

[Lond. Doc. VII.]

19 May, 1690.

May it please your Excellency,

* * * The French and Indians have againe, since your Excellcy's departure, destroyed some people to the Eastward of Boston, have also burned Schenegtade killed 60 people and tooke 28 young men and boys prisoners: About 150 Indians and 50 young men off Albany followed the French over-tooke them upon the lake killed some and tooke 15 Frenchmen, which the Indians have killed in their castles; the french Indians have killed eight or ten people att Conestagione, which has made the whole country in an alarm, and the people leave their plantations. Most of the Albany Wood men are att New-Yorke. Arent Schuyler went with eight Indians to Chambly, killed 2 and tooke 1 Frenchman prisoner.

MR. LIVINGSTON TO [CAPT. NICHOLSON.]

[Lond. Doc. VII.]

7th June, 1690.

Hon^{ble} Sir,—We of Albany stood out the longest till were deserted by all New-England, and while I was sent by the Con-

vention of Albany to procure assistance from the neighbouring colonies, Leisler sends up one Jacob Milborne, formerly a servant to a man in Hartford, but now a fitt tool for his turn with 160 men, who gott the fort surrendered to him, after I had maintained the garrison, and all publick charge to the 12th of March, turn'd out all the Souldiers but 12 or 13, which they tooke in again, and so kept there for some weeks— This Jacob Millborne, John de Bruine and Johannes Provoost, under the dominion of New-York commiss^{rs} spending their time with drinking and quaffing, while the French Indians comes and cutts off the people at Canastagione and above Synectady, and never one of them catcht. We have all Leisler's seditious letters secured which was the occasion of the destruction of Synechtady, miraculously found in the streets, all embrued wth blood the morning after massacre was committed, so that we want nothing but a Govern^r to call him to account.

X.

CIVIL LIST

OF THE

Province of New-York, 1693.

A LIST OF ALL THE OFFICERS

EMPLOYED IN CIVILL OFFICES IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW-YORKE IN AMERICA THE 20th OF APRILL 1693, AND OF THEIR SALLARIES.

[Lond. Doc. IX.]

Patent Officers.

	Sallarys
His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher Esq ^r Capt Gen ^{ll} and Governour in Chiefe of the Province of New-York and Territories depending thereon in America and Vice-Admirall of the same £600 sterling att 30 p ^r cent advance is	} 780 00 00
Matthew Clarkson Esq ^r Sec ^{ry} allowed him for Paper pen and ink p ^r annum	
Chidley Brook Esq ^r Coll ^r and Receiver Gen ^{ll} p ^r ann. £200—£30 Sterl p ^r cent advance	
	} 30 00 00
	} 260 00 00

Members of Council.

Fred. Phillips	} Esqrs.	Tho ^s Willett	} Esq ^{rs} .
Steph Courtlandt		Will ^m Pinhorne	
Nich Bayard		Peter Schuyler	
Will. Smith		John Lawrence	
Gab: Monveille		John Youngs	
Chid. Brook		Caleb Heathcote	
W ^m Nicolls			

James Grayham, Esq ^r Attorney Gen ^l	
David Jamison Clerk of the Councill, allowed per	
annum	50 00 00
Dan. Honan Accomptant-Gen ^l p ^r an ⁿ :	60 00 00
Jarvis Marshall Doorkeeper and Messenger of y ^e	
Councill	30 00 00

*Justices of the Supream Court of Judicature having the
power of Kings Bench, Comon Pleas and Exchequer.*

Allowed for riding the circuit.	{	William Smith Esq Chiefe Justice per	
		annum	130 00 00
		William Pinhorne, Esq. 2 ^d Justice per	
		annum,	100 00 00

Steph Courtlandt

Chid. Brooke Esq^{rs} Justices

John Lawrence

The Secretary is Clerk of this Court.

Customs House Officers.

Rob ^t Livingston Sub Collector att Albany per annum	£50 00 00
W ^m Shaw, Gauger att Albany p ^r an ⁿ :	8 00 00
Tho ^s Munsey Surveyor att New-York p ^r an ⁿ	40 00 00
James Evetts Waiter	30 00 00
Emmanuel Young waiter	30 00 00

The Guager at NewYork paid by y^e cask

Allowed to Godfredus Dellius for teaching and con-	
verting the Indians p ^r an ⁿ	60 00 00

To the Interpretess Helene to interprete for y^e Five

Nations p ^r annum	20 00 00
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Allowed for their Maties Barge one Coxwain p^r ann:

and eight oars att 50 ^s each, £20	30 00 00
--	----------

Allowed to a printer p ^r an ⁿ	40 00 00
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Clerk of the Assembly allowed 12^s p^r diem dureing y^e

Sessions

Door Keeper and Messenger 4^s p^r diem dureing y^e

Sessions

Allowed the Hon^{ble} N. Blaithwayte 5 p^r cent out the

Revenue as Auditor Generall

£1738 00 00

In the Citty of New Yorke

Abraham Depeyster Esq. Mayor & Clerk of the Mercate

James Graham Esq^r Recorder

Standley Handcock Esq^r High Sheriff

William Sharpas Towne Clerke

The Aldermen, Collectors, Assessors and Constables are elective.

In the Citty of Albany

Peter Schuyler Esq Mayor

Dirck Wessells Esq Recorder

Robt Livingston Esq Town Clerk

John Apell Esq^r Sherriffe

The Aldermen, Collectors, Assessors and Constables elective.

The Mayor's Court hath the Power of the Comón Pleas.

In each County there is a Court of Comón Pleas whereof the first in the Commission of the Peace is Judge, and is to be assisted with any two of the three next in the commission of the Peace.

The Mayor and Aldermen are Justices of the Peace and have power to hold Quarter Sessions in the Cittys of N. York & Albany.

Justices of the Peace

In the County of Albany to joyne the May^{or} Record^r and Aldermen in the Quarter Sessions.

Eghbert Theunisse	}	Nicholas Rispe	}
Kilian van Ranslaer		Sanders Glenn	
Martin Gerritse		Peter Vosbrough	
Dirck Theunisse		Gerryt Theunisse	

Justices in Westchester County

Caleb Heathcote Esq^r Judge of the Common Pleas.

Joseph Theale	}	James Mott	}
William Barnes		John Hunt	
Daniel Strange		Wm Chadderton	
		Thomas Pinkney	

Benjamin Collier Esq^r Sherriffe.

Joseph Lee Clerk of the County

Collectors Assessors and Constables elective

*Justices in the County of Richmond*Ellis Duxbury Esq^r Judge of the Comôn Pleas

Abraham Cannor	}	Esq ^{rs}
Abraham Lakeman		
Dennis Theunisse		
John Shadwell		
John Stilwell Esq ^a Sherriff		

*Justices in the County of Ulster*Thomas Garton Esq^r Judge of the Comôn Pleas

Henry Beeckman	}	Esq ^{rs}
Dirck Shepmers		
Wessell Tenbrook		
Abraham Haasbrough		
Nicholas Antonio Esq ^r Sherriffe		

*Justices in Suffolk County*Isaac Arnold Esq^r Judge of y^e Comôn Pleas.

John Howell	}	Esq ^{rs}
Samuell Mulford		
Rich ^d Smith		
William Barker		
Matthew Howell		
Ebenetus Platt		
Tomas Mapes		
Josiah Hobbart Esq ^r Sherriffe		

*Justices in Queens County*Thomas Hix Esq^r Judge of the Common Pleas

Richard Cornwall	}	Esq ^{rs}
Ellias Doughty		
Dan. Whitehead		
John Smith		
Tho. Stevensant		
John Harrison Esq ^r Sherriffe		
Andrew Gibb Clerke		

Justices in the Kings County

Stephen Courtlandt Judge of y^e Common Pleas

Roeloffe Martinse

Nicholas Stillwell

Joseph Hogeman

Henry Filkin

} Esq^r

Dirk Huyle

John Theunisse

Peter Cortiliau

Stoffell Probasco

} Esq^r

Gerryt Strycker Esqr Sherriff.

Dukes County consisting of Nantuckett and Martins Vineyard claimed by Sr William Phipps, the case of Martins Vineyard laid before their Ma'ties.

Orange County not above twenty families, for the present under the care of New York

Dutchess County haveing very few inhabitants committed to the care of the county of Ulster

Surveyors of Highways, Collectors, Assessors and Constables, are elective throughout the whole Province

An Account of all Establishm^{ts} of Jurisdictions within this Province.

Single Justice—Every Justice of the Peace hath power to determine any suite or controversy to the value of forty shillings

Quarter Sessions—The Justices of the Peace in Quarter Sessions have all such powers and authorities as are granted in a Commission of y^e Peace in England

County Court—The County Court or Common Pleas hath cognizance of civil Accôns to any value, excepting what concerns title of land, and noe Accôn can be removed from this court if the damage be under twenty pounds.

Mayor and Aldermen—The Court of Mayor and Aldermen hath the same power with the County Courts.

Supreme Court—The Supreme Court hath the powers of Kings Bench, Common Pleas & Exchequer in England, & noe accôn can be removed from this court if under £100.

Chancery.—The Governour and Councill are a court of Chancery and have the powers of the Chancery in England, from whose sentence or decree nothing can be removed under £300

Prerogative Court.—The Governour discharges the place of Ordinary in granting Administracôns and proveing Wills &c. The Secretary is Register. The Govern^r is about to appoint Delegates in the remoter parts of the Government, with Supervisors for looking after intestates estates & provideing for orphans

Court Marshall—The Govern^r hath established a Court Martiall att Albany whereof Major Rich^d Ingoldesby is President & Robert Livingston Judge Aadvocate who with the other comissionated Captains att Albany have power to exercise Martiall Law, being a frontear Garrison and in actuall warr.

Admiralty—Their Majesties reserve the appointment of a Judge, Register, and Marshall

M. CLARKSON Secry.

A STATE OF THE MILLITIA

IN THEIR MAJESTIES PROVINCE OF NEW YORK IN AMERICA, APRIL 1693.

[Lond. Doc. IX.]

Men.

The Millitia of the Citty and County of New Yorke & Orange, commanded by Coll: Abraham Depeyster, being Eight Companys of foot, and one Troop of Horse, consisting of - - - - - 477

The Millitia of Queens County in y^e Island of Nassaw, commanded by by Coll. Thomas Willett being nine Companys Foot, and one Troop of Horse consisting of - - - 580

The Millitia of Suffolke County in the Island of Nassaw commanded by Coll: John Young being nine companys of Foot, consisting of - - - - - 533

The Millitia of Kings County in y^e Island of Nassaw, commanded by Coll: Stephanus Van Cortland, being six Companys of Foot and one Troop of Horse, consisting of - 319

The Millitia of the county of Albany comâded by Major Peter Schuyler being five companys of Foot and one Troop of Horse, now formed into Dragoons by the Govern^r, consisting of - - - - - 359

The Millitia of Ulster and Dutchess Countys comâded by
 Lieut Coll. Beeckman being four Companys of Foot and one
 Troop of Horse now made Dragoons, consisting of - 277

The Millitia of the County of Westchester, comâded by
 Coll. Caleb Heathcott, being six Companys of Foot, con-
 sisting of - - - - - 283

The Millitia of the County of Richmond commanded by
 Capt Andrew Cannon being two Companys of Foot, con-
 sisting of - - - - - 104

In all - 2932

BEN. FLETCHER

XI.

PAPERS

RELATING TO

Count de Frontenac's Expedition

AGAINST

THE ONONDAGOS.

1696.

FRONTENAC'S EXPEDITION, 1696.

[Council Min. VII.]

At a Council held at his Maties ffort in New Yorke the 9th of July 1696.

Present His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher &c

ffred Philips	} Esq ^r	Gab Monvielle	} Esq ^r
Steph. Cortlandt		Peter Schuyler	
Nich: Bayard		John Lawrence	

His Excell: did Communicate intelligence from Albany with the examination of a ffrench prisoner wherein appears there is great preparacôn in Canida and a resolution of the Govern^r of Canida to reduce the five Nations this summer that all the men between fifteen & fifty in Canida are ordered to be in readinesse and that all the ffrench Indians & Ottawawaes are together & that they are to joyn the Dawaganhaes

His Excell. offered his opinion to march up 400 men to the Castle of Onondage to encourage and confirme the Indians.

The Council do approve thereof, but affirm the impossibility for want of money which is not to be had our neighbours having denied assistance the Revenue lessened much by the decay of trade and great backwardnesse in bringing in the taxes

At a Council held at his Matys ffort in New Yorke the 27th of July 1696.

Present His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher &c.

ffred Phillips	} Esq ^r	John Lawrence	} Esq ^r
Steph: Cortlandt		Caleb Heathcote	
Gab Monvielle			

His Excell: did communicate a letter from Mr. Allyn of Connecticut giving account of two ffrench men taken prisoners neere

the heads of their rivers and that they report there is 1000 french & 2000 Indians marched against the five Nations.

Also a letter from Coll. Ingoldesby with a belt from Onondage bringing intelligence of a great body of french & Indians on this side Mount Reall on their march towards them 12 dayes ago.

His Excell: desired the advice of the Council what is to be done offering his readynesse to march immediately to the frontiers in person and his opinion it were convenient to march up men for the frontiers that a body may be spared to go to Onondage to cover them and show our zeal for their preservacōn which will give them encouragement.

It is the opinion of the Council that there being no assistance of men from the neighbouring Colonies and a small summe of money sent from Virginia and Maryland to assist in the many great charges this Province is put to upon the alarms of the enemy it being harvest time and many of the South of the Province already listed to recruit the Companyes it will be very grievous to take the people from their labour and hardly possible there is likewise no money to answer the charge thereof Do therefore advise that a letter be wrote to the Indians to give them encouragement and to acquaint them the King of England has sent them some presents & desire them to be watchfull.

At a Council held at his Matys ffort in New Yorke the 31st day of July 1696.

Present his Excell: Benjamin Fletcher etc

ffred Philips

Steph: Cortlandt

Nich Bayard

} Esq^r

Gab: Monvielle } Esq^r

Caleb Heathcote }

His Excell: did communicate to the Council intelligence from the frontiers that the enemy are upon their march that the Indians of the five Nations have sent to call for assistance of Christian force and did expresse his readynesse to go to Albany

His Excell: did desire their opinion what is to be done being there's no money in the Coffers

It is the opinion of the Council that there may be men found upon the frontiers that upon encouragement will march to the

Indian Country if there were a fund to answer the charge thereof

His Excell. did declare his readynesse to go provided they will finde money to answer the necessary charge thereof

Coll. Cortlandt proferred his personall credit for £200 towards the expedicōn

Coll Bayard offers the same ffred Philips offers the same Lt Coll. Monvielle the same Coll Heathcote the same

His Excell: did recommend to them to procure the creditt each for £200 forthwith.

FRONTENAC'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ONONDAGA INDIANS. 1696.

[Paris Doc. V.]

The Count is already advised, by despatches at the departure of last year's ships, of the preparations for a considerable expedition against the Iroquois and principally against the Onnontagues which is the chief nation, where the councils of the other five are held, the most devoted to the English, and the most strenuously opposed to the negotiations for peace of preceding years. It became of importance to crush them, and it appeared to many more advantageous to do so during winter inasmuch as it was certain, said they, to find in the Village at least all the women and children who being destroyed or captured would draw down ruin on the warriors or oblige them to surrender to us.

The necessary preparations for this expedition were begun last autumn, but the large amount of snow produced a change of design, the rather as it was impossible to transport the Militia (*habitans*) from the south shore and the Island of Orleans to the government of Quebec, the river having been absolutely impassable from the sailing of the vessels to the commencement of this year.

This it was that caused the adoption of the resolution to proceed by the Mohawk country with whatever troops could be collected capable of travelling on the snow with the militia of Three Rivers and Montreal and Indians, which had always been the plan of

Monsieur the Count de Frontenac who fore-saw the difficulty of executing the other project during winter. But this design also aborted, because we were informed that a Mohawk prisoner who escaped from us, had communicated our intention, and that this Nation, united with the English of Orange, awaited us with resolute determination, which, however, would not have prevented us going in quest of them had the continuance of the season permitted a large body to make so long a march and to carry munitions and the supplies necessary for subsisting there.

* * * * *

The intelligence which we stated that M. le Comte de Frontenac received from the Ottawas obliged us to interrupt what we had commenced of the preparations for the Onnontagué voyage. Every thing was put in order during his short stay at Montreal. He departed for la Chine where the army arrived on the 4th July; ten Ottawa savages arrived there the same day, and coming from the vicinity of the Onnontagues they roved a long time around the village without having been able to make any prisoners, and finding themselves pursued by a considerable party, took refuge in fort Frontenac. They thanked Monsieur le Comte for not having deceived them, and for having saved their lives by furnishing them at that fort with something to eat and, particularly, to smoke.

On the information given them by Sieur Dejordis, a Calvinist Captain, who commanded that fort, of the march of M. le Comte, they said they were going to meet him, and that they expected to accompany him.

Provisions having been furnished to the Indians, the whole army proceeded to encamp on the 6th at Isle Perrot. Next day it was ranged in the order of battle, which it was intended should be observed during the entire march.

The savages, to the number of 500, were so divided that the greater portion were always in the van which was composed of two battalions of troops consisting each of two hundred men. They were followed by several detached batteaux of militia, bearing supplies and the baggage of M. le Comte, Messrs de Callières, de Vaudreuil, and de Ramezay.

Monsieur de Callières commanded the vanguard, having two large batteaux on board which were two brass pieces mounted, also mortars for grenades, fire works and other necessary ammunition, with the Commissary of Artillery.

Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac followed the vanguard surrounded by the canocs of his Staff, Sieur Levasseur, Engineer, and several volunteers. The four battalions of militia, stronger than those of the soldiers, composed the main body. Monsieur de Ramezay, Governor of Three Rivers, commanded the entire militia. The rearguard, commanded by Monsieur de Vaudreuil, consisted only of two battalions of troops and the remainder of the savages who brought up the rear.

Sieurs de la Durantaye, de May, de Grays et Dumesnil veteran captains commanded the four battalions of troops; sieur de Subercaze acted as Major General and there was an adjutant (*Aide Major*) to each battalion of troops and militia; sieur de Saint Martin, a Calvinist captain, commanded the Quebec battalion; sieur de Grandville, Lieutenant, that of Beaupré; sieur le Grandpré, Major of Three Rivers, was at the head of the militia of that government, and sieur Deschambaux, King's attorney at Montreal, commanded the battalion of that place. No officers remained in the country except those whom infirmity prevented undertaking such a voyage; and with difficulty were any found for the requisite garrisons.

Sieur de Maricourt, Captain, led the savages of the Sault and the Abenakis who formed one corps; sieur Gardeur de Beauvaire, Lieutenant of those of the Mountain and of the Lorette Hurons, and sieur de Beaucourt also Lieutenant, commanded the Algonquins, Socoquois, Nipissirmens, and the few there were of Ottawas, who constituted another corps.

The order of battle was not deranged during the march, and the troops which formed the van on one day, retired on the morrow to the rear. As there were nearly thirty leagues of Rapids to be passed, the march was very tedious; it is, therefore, inconceivable what difficulty was encountered in making the portages, being obliged often several times in one day to discharge from the batteaux the greater part of the freight.

Those who have no knowledge of the country, cannot understand what we call *Cascades* and *Saults*. Falls from seven to eight feet high are often met, and there fifty men find difficulty enough in dragging a batteau, and in places less troublesome they are under the necessity of getting into the water up to, and sometimes beyond the waist, it being impossible to stem the current even with the lightest canoes by aid of poles and paddles.

A part of the army encamped, on the day of departure, above the chute called *Le Buisson*; the rest followed in file next day and the rain obliged them to bivouac there.

On the 9th the Cedars rapid was passed; on the 10th the army divided in two to ascend that of *Coteau du lac*, a part to the north and a part to the south. The same thing was repeated next morning, and a junction was re-formed at the entrance of *Lake St. Francis*, which is over seven leagues long, and which was passed under sail and in full battle array.

Our Indian scouts reported at night that they had seen some ascending and descending trails. A detachment of savages and a few Frenchmen was formed to march some leagues ahead of the main body and to prevent ambuscades.

On the 12th before decamping, nine *Abenakis* joined *Monsieur le Comte de Frontenac*. *Messieurs l'Intendant* and the King's lieutenant at *Quebec* remarked in their letters that these savages said that they had learned that the English intended coming to *Quebec*. These false reports, which are but too prevalent in these parts, did not interrupt the continuance of the march, and the camp was formed at the foot of the *Long Sault*.

However long and difficult, it was all passed on the 13th. On the 14th they came to the foot of the *Rapide Plat*. *Sieur de Mantesh*, Lieutenant, was detached with fifty Frenchmen and savages to make the necessary discoveries.

On the 15th they arrived at the rapid *des Galets*; the 16th after having repaired several batteaux, they could not make any more than three leagues beyond the place called *la Galette* where the bad navigation terminated.

At those places where portages were required to be made, several detachments marched on land to cover those who drew (the batteaux.) On the 17th the rain prevented a long march.

On the 18th they proceeded to within 4 leagues of the fort [Frontenac]. They made more than twelve leagues that day, and arrived there the next day, noon ; so that of 70 leagues, the distance from Montreal to this fort, they were only four days passing through the smooth water, crossing Lake St. Francis included, and thirty ascending the Rapids which do not comprise half the distance.

* * * * *

On the 26th they took their departure, and encamped at Deer island, (*Ile aux chevreuils*,) the scouts marching continually ahead of the army. Sieur du Luth, captain, was left in the fort as commandant with a garrison of 40 men and masons and carpenters necessary for the buildings which he was recommended to hasten. There remained only 26 sic. in the fort, most of whom were wounded in the legs ascending the rapids.

On the 27th they got to within three leagues of *Rivière de la Famine* [Black River], and on the 28th at the mouth of that of Onnontagué, our scouts reported having seen the trails of nine men.

29th. As this river is extremely narrow, 50 scouts were detached on each side, and the army proceeded only according to their reports. Some had seen the trails of thirty to forty men, and the others a canoe which had been only recently abandoned. But two leagues could be made this day, and three the next. M. le Comte and M. de Vaudreuil with the troops and a battalion of militia occupied the northern, and Messrs. de Callières and de Ramezay with the remainder passed on the southern side. It would be useless to attempt describing the rapids of this river ; the difficulties could not be understood, since by marching from morning until night five leagues only could be made in two days.

30th. The portage of all the batteaux, canoes and baggage commenced, it being impossible to pass the Falls otherwise. M. le Comte de Frontenac, who expected to pass on foot like the others, was borne in his canoe by fifty savages singing and uttering yells of joy. The battalions who could not make this Carrying place passed it the day following. Four leagues were travelled, the road being better.

On the first of August, half the army was detached beyond the river which goes to Oneida (*Onnejoust*), and made more than five leagues in roads up to the knee. M. de Vaudreuil and the majority of the officers were at their head. This precaution was the more necessary as at a place called *Le Rigols*, the river is not more than half a pistol shot wide, to the mouth of Lake Ganenta.¹ Nothing was met during this day's march except the description of our army drawn on bark, after the manner of the Savages, and two bundles of cut rushes which signified that 1434 men accompanied us. We passed the Lake in the order of battle. Monsieur de Callières who commanded that day on the left, that being the side of the enemy, made a large circuit under pretence of debarking on that side, whilst M. de Vaudreuil with the right wing hugged the shore to clear what he could encounter all around of the enemy. The vigorous manner this landing was made, sword in hand, convinced us that had the enemy been met they would not have long stood their ground. M. de Vaudreuil's detachment made a circuit of half a league and anchored at the place where M. de Callières waited. The entire body landed.

The scouts did not cease marching; they reported having seen trails proceeding from the village of the Onnontagués to Cayuga (*Oyogouis*) and Oneida (*Onnejoust*), which induced them to believe that the women and children withdrew thither, and that the Warriors of these two villages came to aid their brethren.

A strong light was seen the same night in the direction of the village, which caused the supposition that they had burned it; it was even supposed that they fired cannon.

The Fort was completed next morning, the 3^d. An Ottawa Savage, named the Cat, returned from scouting. He had gone some days previously with a Seneca taken last winter, whose life had been spared. They at first discovered two women whom they had neglected to capture, and they subsequently seized a man who was bathing with his wife. The Ottawa wished to bind him, but the Seneca opposed it, and released him under the pretext that he would bring in others, which began to make the Outaouac distrust

¹ La Rigolle is that part of the Oswego River between Lake Onondaga and the Mouth of the Seneca River.

him, but he had still more reason to do so when the Seneca quit him, saying that he wished to eat some new corn, and having wandered aside for that purpose, he uttered the ordinary warning cry to direct some young Onontagués who pursued the Outaouacs, the swiftness of whose legs saved him. Half a league was made that day.

Sieur Marquis de Crissaffy, captain, was left in the fort with Sieur Desbergères, also captain, and some other officers and 140 militia men and soldiers to guard the batteaux, canoes, provisions and other heavy baggage, which could not be transported; their loss would have absolutely caused that of the whole army, and though every one wished to share the glory which M. le Comte was expected to reap, he thought he could not leave too good officers at this post. The other Seneca, the comrade of him to whom we have just alluded, deserted the night of the same day to advise his nation of the danger which menaced the Iroquois. Inconceivable difficulty was experienced in moving the cannon and the remainder of the artillery equipments over marshes and two pretty considerable rivers which it was necessary to traverse, being obliged to carry them on their carriages and parapets, which occupied a very great number of the militia.

We camped at the place called The Salt Springs, which in truth they are. They produce enough of salt to make us wish that they were near Quebec; the cod-fishery would be very easy then in Canada.

The 4th. The order of battle was formed at sunrise; the army being divided in two lines.

The first was commanded by M. de Callières who kept on the enemy's left; his centre consisted of two battalions of militia and the two battalions of troops composed the wings, the artillery being in the middle preceded by the two centre battalions. The greater portion of the Indians of the first line had been thrown on the right wing, as they desired. From time to time forlorn hopes of the most active savages and Frenchmen were deployed to discover and receive the first fire.

The second line was commanded by M. de Vaudreuil who placed himself on the right wing. It was composed of an equal number of battalions of militia and soldiers.

M. le Comte preceded by the cannon was borne, on a chair,

(*fauteuil*), between the two lines, in a position to place himself when he thought proper at the head, through the interval of the two battalions of militia of the first line.

Each battalion was only two deep, and showed a very great front. M. le Comte had around him his guard, his staff, and the canoe and batteaux men.

They united during the march in some places at which it was very difficult to pass, the cannon through defiles, and over streams of some magnitude where the order of battle was broken, so that we were from sunrise till night in getting to the location of the village after a number of wheelings (*quarts de conversion*) and other evolutions sufficiently difficult to execute in the woods. But the activity of Sieur Subercaze, major, supplied every requisite. Ten other men would not have accomplished all that he performed alone, and though he was assisted by good adjutants (*aides major*) he considered it nevertheless his duty to be every where. This campaign furnished him with an opportunity to signalize his activity and his zeal on several occasions, but as this is the principal, mention of it cannot be avoided. Never did a man execute with more promptitude the prudent orders he received from his general.

If we did not fear being considered rather a panegyrist than a historian, we should speak as we ought of the conduct of Messrs de Callières, de Vaudreuil, Ramezay and other principal officers; but the confidence which the King reposes in them is a sufficient guarantee that he deems them worthy the posts they fill in this country, and it is unnecessary to enlarge in their praise to demonstrate that they are truly so. His choice alone justifies it.

The cabins of the Indians and the triple palisade which encircled their fort were found entirely burnt. It has since been learned that it was in a sufficiently strong state of defence. It was an oblong flanked by four regular bastions. The two rows of pickets which touched each other, were of the thickness of an ordinary mast; and at six feet distance outside stood another palisade of much smaller dimensions, but from 40 to 50 feet high.

If the flight of the savages saved the army the trouble of forc-

ing their fortifications by trenches, as was resolved upon having all the necessary tools, it robbed them of the glory of utterly destroying them ; but it must not be expected that the Indians will ever stand against a considerable opposing force. The expense which this expedition entailed ought not however to be regretted.

There were some alarms the night after arriving, and a soldier on duty at an outpost was wounded by our people.

On the 5th arrived two squaws and a child of the Mountain near Montreal, who had been a long time prisoners. They told us that they had escaped five days ago with the other women and children who were removed on the rumour of our approach. Another old woman was captured in the woods, and being unable to follow our soldiers broke her skull. In the afternoon a Frenchman, a prisoner among the Oneidas, arrived with a savage. They brought a belt from that Nation whereby they solicited peace from M. Le Comte de Frontenac. He immediately sent them back, and promised peace on condition that they should establish themselves with their families among us, assuring them that they should receive land and wherewithal to sow it. He added if their wives and children were not ready, they should bring five of their most influential Chiefs as hostages, and that they should be soon followed by the army to oblige them by force to execute the conditions imposed on them.

On the next day, the 7th, a young Frenchman, seven years a prisoner among the Onnontagués arrived in the camp. He had escaped with those who had come into the outposts the night preceding. He reported that they had retired with their families twenty leagues from their fort, having scouts always around them in order to fly farther off if pursued. He added that it is probable a great number would perish having been in such a hurry to fly that they took away scarcely any corn, caches of which they hastily made, and that they began to fall short. Almost all these caches were discovered. The grain and the rest of the booty consisting of pots, guns, axes, stuffs, wampum belts, and some peltries were plundered by our Frenchmen and Savages. The destruction of the Indian corn was commenced

the same day, and was continued the two following days. The grain was so forward that the stalks were very easily cut by the sword and sabre without the least fear that any could sprout again. Not a single head remained. The fields stretched from a league and a half to two leagues from the fort: The destruction was complete. A lame girl was found concealed under a tree, and her life was spared.

An old man, also captured, did not experience the same fate. M. le Comte's intention, after he had interrogated him, was to spare his life on account of his great age, but the savages who had taken him and to whom he was given were so excited that it was not deemed prudent to dissuade them from the desire they felt to burn him. He had, no doubt, prepared himself during his long life to die with firmness, however cruel the tortures he should have to endure. Not the slightest complaint escaped his lips. On the contrary he exhorted those who tormented him to remember his death, so as to display the same courage when those of his nation would take vengeance on them; and when a savage, weary of his harangues, gave him some cuts of a knife, "I thank thee," he cried, "but thou oughtest to complete my death by fire. Learn, French dogs! and ye, savages! their allies—that ye are the dogs of dogs. Remember what ye ought to do, when you will be in the same position that I am." Similar sentiments will be found perhaps to flow rather from ferociousness, than true valour; but there are heroes among barbarians as well among the most polished nations, and what would be brutality in us may pass for valour with an Iroquois.

The 9th M. de Vaudreuil returned from Oneida at eight o'clock in the morning. He departed on the morning of the 6th, with a detachment of six to seven hundred of the most active men of the whole army, soldiers, militia and Indians. He had, under him, Sieurs de Louvigny and de Linvillieres, Captain; Desjordis and Dauberville, Calvinist Captains; Soulange and de Sabrevois, lieutenants of foot, and several other subaltern officers. Sieur de Villedenay, also lieutenant, acted as his Aide de Camp.

As it was necessary to use great expedition, they did not march in as exact order as the army had done; M. de Vaudreuil con-

tented himself throwing the scouts some quarter of a league in advance ; and on the wings, between the scouts and the main body he placed a detached corps of 50, a forlorn hope commanded in turn by a lieutenant. They arrived on the same day before sundown within a league of the village ; they would have pushed even farther if the convenience of encamping on the bank of a beautiful river had not invited them to halt. They were at the first dawn in sight of the village and as they were about to enter the fields of Indian corn, they met the Deputies of all that Nation.

They requested M. de Vaudreuil to halt, fearing that our savages would spoil their crops, assuring him that they would execute in good faith the orders which M. le Comte had given to their first delegate.

M. de Vaudreuil determined also on his side to obey punctually those which he had received, told them it was useless for them to think of preserving their grain, as, according to the word of their Father they should not want for any when retired among us ; that, therefore, he should cut all down ; that their fort and cabins would not, either, be spared, having every thing ready for their reception.

He found in the village but 25 @ 40 persons, almost all having fled at the sight of the detachment, but the most influential chiefs had remained. M. de Vaudreuil consented that two or three men should follow these fugitives to try to bring them back.

On entering this village a young French woman was found a prisoner, just arrived from the Mohawk. She reported that that Nation and the English to the number of 300, were preparing to attack us. A Mohawk who had deserted from the Sault last year, the same who had given information of the proposed attack against his Nation, was captured roving around the village. He said he came there intending to surrender himself to us, which it was pretended to believe. An eye was kept on him, notwithstanding. He confirmed the report of the young French woman.

Another savage, also of the same Nation, but who had been captured with a party of our people of the Sault, where he resided, assured M. de Vaudreuil that the English and Mohawks had

indeed set out to come ; that many of the former had moved out from Orange, but that they had contented themselves with remaining outside some hours in line, and had returned ; that the consternation was pretty general among the one and the other.

This last intelligence caused M. de Vaudreuil's detachment as much regret as the first had given them joy. It was received with a thousand yells of satisfaction, particularly by the Abenaki's who said they had need neither of knives nor hatchets to beat the English ; that it was idle to waste powder on such a set.

M. de Vaudreuil resolved to await them in the wood without shutting himself up in the fort. He left on the 9th between nine and ten o'clock in the morning after having seen it burned and the corn entirely cut. He camped the same night two leagues from Onnontagué. The celerity of his movements cannot be too much praised, since he occupied only three days in going, coming and executing all he had to do, although from one village to the other was fourteen good leagues in the woods with continual mountains and a multitude of rivers and large streams to be crossed. He was therefore not expected so soon, and M. le Comte was agreeably surprized to see him return in so short a time with 35 Oneidas, among whom were as we have said, the principal Chiefs of the nation, and four of our French, prisoners.

But we are accustomed in Canada to see him perform so many gallant actions, and he has the King's service so much at heart that those acquainted with him will not be surprized at this, however extraordinary it be.

The Mohawk deserter was burnt before the departure of the army who camped that same day midway from the fort where the batteaux were left ; some savages having remained behind in the hope of finding more plunder received the fire of a small party ; three of them were killed without the enemy daring to advance near enough to take their scalps.

The fort was reached on the 10th and destroyed. The army encamped on the 11th below the Portage, and on the 12th at 10 o'clock in the morning at the mouth of the river, on Lake Frontenac. It was time to quit that river, and if the waters had been as low as they ordinarily are in the month of August a portion of

the batteaux should have been, of necessity, abandoned. A very violent gale from the West retained the army until the 14th and though it was not altogether calm, ten leagues were made that day under sail, though we did not leave until noon.

The navigation is pretty dangerous for canoes and batteaux; the waves extraordinarily high, and the landing very difficult, there being numerous shoals in some places and in others headlands against which the sea breaks at a stupendous height. We camped in a river where the wind was less violent, and arrived next day, the 15th, at Fort Frontenac.

On the 16th, the militia and soldiers were occupied conveying fire-wood to the fort and in cutting and transporting what was necessary for the requisite planks and boards. The masons who had been left there had erected during the Count's absence a building of 120 feet, along one of the curtains, not so high on that side as the parapet. The wood work is attached, and there is a range of loop holes along the upper loft as in the remainder of the fort. This long building contains a chapel, the officers' quarters, a bakery and the stores which are at present filled with provisions for the subsistence of the troops for more than eight months, exclusive of refreshments and what will be required for the Indians who may pass there. The two pieces of cannon, one of which was employed in the campaign and a quantity of grenades were left there. The army sojourned there the 17th; encamped on the 18th at La Galette and on the 19th on Lake St. Francis.

On the same day, the enemy attacked some canoes of our people, who had found means to precede us. One of our party was drowned, one wounded; the enemy lost three men and could not be captured by a detachment which was sent in pursuit.

On the 20th we arrived at Montreal. Some batteaux upset in the rapids and three militiamen were drowned. We were obliged to make good to the others the arms and baggage that the boat lost by upsetting.

We might extend the narrative of this campaign to a greater length, but as we should be obliged to use terms little known to those unacquainted with Canada, we considered this slight sketch would suffice.

It might have been more advantageous to His Majesty's arms, and more glorious to Count de Frontenac, had the Onnontagués followed their first plan ; it would have, no doubt, cost the lives of some brave men, as the Iroquois do not fight with impunity. There might have been, perhaps, six to seven hundred men in their fort including those who had come to their aid, and scarcely any would have escaped ; but their loss cannot fail to be considerable. After M. Denonville's [departure from] the Seneca country, we know the difficulty that Nation had to subsist for several years. The Iroquois were powerful, and are diminished since ; assistance from the English, especially in provisions, comes in less abundantly ; wheat is worth twenty francs the *minot* [three bushels] at Orange ; the pound of powder, a *pistole* ; lead and other merchandize are, in truth, cheaper than with us.

The Mohawks have very little Indian corn ; the Oneidas are ruined, and it is not known whether the Senecas will not remember the high price the Onnontagués set on provisions at the time of their discomfiture, when they were obliged to give most valuable belts for supplies. There remain then only the Cayugas who can succor their neighbours, and we cannot say if they alone are sufficient for that purpose. Their hunting and fishing will, without doubt be interrupted by the different small parties now in the field. In fine, it is certain, by continuing the war as at its commencement, and as Count de Frontenac determined, the Iroquois will be reduced to the necessity of dying of hunger, or accepting peace on the conditions we may think proper to impose on them ; and if the almost invincible obstinacy they seem to have to wage it with us continue, we will not despair to bring them to it, if this blow, struck without the participation of our allies from above, and which they did not believe could be undertaken without them, could force them to make as great efforts on their side as we have made on ours ; it will be easy to urge them to it as long as the French remain at Missilimakinac and at other posts, but when the fatal moment of their return arrives, their absence will put an absolute termination to the little good will the former may feel towards us, when they shall see themselves abandoned. Possibly they will be greatly cooled down this autumn, seeing neither pow-

der nor ball, nor goods coming to them. How can they be persuaded to wage war without furnishing them with the means; how can the destruction of the Iroquois be completed without their aid, if they withdraw from us and retire into the woods?

Count de Frontenac learned on his arrival, that an Onontagué who had been captured at the fort above the island of Montreal [killed] himself in prison.

On the 22^d August, thirteen Algonquins brought in two Mohawk scalps, and one woman and two girls, prisoners. Seven savages from the Sault and the Mountain who had been detached to Oneida with Mons^r de Vaudreuil, brought in a prisoner of the same Nation, who was burned at Montreal. Some small parties of the enemy appeared along the south shore, but they made no attack, and the harvest has been saved very quietly.

COLL. FLETCHER TO THE LORDS OF THE LATE COMMITTEE DATED THE 22^d AUG. 1696.

[Lond. Doc. X.]

May it please your Lordships.

On the 2nd instant I had intelligence the Governor of Canida was in our Indian Country with 1000 French and 2000 Indians, and that the people of Albany were in some consternation lest the Indians of the Five Nations should joyne with them and fall down upon Schenectady and Albany. He surprized one Castle at Oneyde which he burnt, and destroyed the Indian corne. The Onondages sent away their old men, women and children to the southward, the young men tarried 'till they perceived the French were too numerous for them, then burnt their Fort and retreated, leaving their corne to be destroyed. It is reported by some prisoners that did escape, that an Indian brought tydings to Count Frontenac, that I was on my march from Albany with a great army as numerous as the trees of the woods, which hastened his retreat, the Cayounges and Sinnekes are no[t] hurt, I wrot to Connecticut for their quota and to the Governour of the Jerseys

for men to meet me at Albany, but all my endeavours could not obtain one man from them

It is resolved in Council here for His Majty^s service that the Oneydes and Onondages be supply'd with corne the ensuing yeare which will add to the charges of this Province.

I have herewith transmitted to your Lordps a copy of my proceedings at Albany on this occasion, I have delayed the giving them the present from His Majty until such time I can get them all together, and having received advice from the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of His Majty^s Privy Council of a designe the French have upon some part of America, I hastened to Yorke, for in a month or six weeks time the winds are esteemed a defence to this Coast.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LATE EXPEDITION TO ALBANY IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1696.

[London Doc. X.]

July 31. His Excell^y Benjamin Fletcher had certain intelligence that the French were on their march against the Indians of the Five Nations.

Sunday Aug^t the 2^d. Intelligence came the French were in the Indian Countrey and that the inhabitants of Albany were apprehensive of their marching against that garrison. At the same time came a letter from the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lords of his Ma^{ty}s Privy Council advising of preparac^{ns} made by the French against some part of America. His Excell. the same day did recommend to the Council to cause the guns and batterys to be put in order and about noone took his departure for Albany.

On the 7th of Aug^t his Excell arrived at Albany and called a Council of such gentl. and officers as were upon the frontiers.

[Council Min. Vol. VII.]

At a Council held at Albany the 7th day of August 1696.

Present. His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher &c.

Coll. Nich. Bayard of the Council	Coll. Rich ^d Ingoldesby Capt James Weems
Maj ^r Peter Schuyler of the Council	Capt William Hyde Capt. Peter Matthews
Matth: Clarkson Sec ^y	Evert Banker Esq ^r
L ^t Coll. Charles Lodwick	Dirck Wessells, Esq.
Mr. Dellius the Minister to the Indians	

His Excell the Governor said :—

Gentl. As soon as I had certaine notice from you that the enemy were marched into the Countrey of our Indian friends, and by the number of their forces did seeme to threaten this place & Schenectady, I made all the haste I could to yo^r assistance, loosing no more time but while I wrott to Connecticutt & the Jerseys for such supplys of men as I conceived necessary upon this occasion by this letter which I received at the same time (with those from Albany) from the Lords of His Matyes Council in England, you will see that I could not reasonably draw forces from New Yorke nor be well spared from that place myself; yet by advice of his Mat^{yes} Council there I am come up with a part of my own Company and desire yo^r advice what is most proper to be done for the King's service and y^r own safetyes and for the secureing the Indians in their fidelity and renewing the covenant chain: this we are to consider, that time may not be lost and the Countrey not burthened by an unnecessary charge.

His Excell. further proposed sending thirty men of his own Company now brought up with him with a detachment of twenty out of each of the three Companies here, into the Indian Countrey to cover the retreat of our Indians and secure them from their fears.

The Council were of opinion the French being retreated it would be an unnecessary charge. And offered their advice that the Sachems of the Oneydes should be sent for (who are here) and their losse condoleed, which was accordingly done.

The Council are of opinion that the members of Council present with the officers of the Companies and principle inhabitants of this place should meet & consult with the chiefe Indians now in town about the propperest methods for bringing back those Indians that are fledd, and settling them firm again in the covenant chain, and make report what they have done therein to His Excellency. Which His Excell. did approve of & order accordingly

May it please yo^r Excell.

In obedience to yo^r Excell. order of the 7th instant we under-written have mett & considered about the propperest methods for bringing both those Indian Nations viz^t the Onondages and Oneydes that are fled, and renewing with them and the rest of the Five Nations the Covenant Chain, and having thereupon sounded the opinions of the Sachims of the Maquaes and Oneydos Nations and severall of their chiefe men now at Albany, do humbly offer as our opinions that since we are informed that it is now twelve dayes ago the French army left the Indian Countrey and that the Senekes and Cayouges are still undisturbed in their own country that the Onnondage Nation upon the approach of the enemy have set their own Castle on fire and all fledd to be out of the enemy's reach, that the Oneydes Nation have in like manner left their Castle and great part of them already are come in here to Albany for reliefe in their wants of provision and ammunicion &c. and that the Maquaes Nation or great part of them are in the like manner come in hither, We cannot perceiue that it can be any great service to send any great body of men now to the Upper Nations, who are seated at that distance from hence, neither can any men be well spared from Albany, here being only three establisht companies in garrison with a detachment of yo^r Excell. own Company now brought with you, besides a few inhabitants; which we judge to be little enough for the defence of the place: but we humbly suppose that its of absolute necessity that small partyes be frequently sent out to clear the coast from such small tropps that may come to annoy the adjacent farmes in getting in their harvest; and lastly with submission we are of opinion that the best method to reduce

the Indians that are fled & to unite them with the rest to this government as formerly in renewing the Covenant chain, is,—

First, that trusty and faithfull Indians be procured and sent to the Senekes and Cayouges in their Castles and to the Onondages that are fledd, with instruccôns to acquaint them that His Excell. the Governor upon the first newes of the French invading their Country came to Albany from New Yorke in order for their assistance & releife.

2. That upon his Excell. comeing hither he had intelligence the enemy was already departed out of our Indian Countrey.

3. That it is hardly possible to have a meeting with all the brethren of the Five Nations now to consult with them what may be propper for the common good and to present them with those things which are sent to them from his Excell: great Master the King of Great Brittain.

4. That therefore yo^r Excell. do appoint the brethren to meet you thereunto at Albany this day two months, but if it should so happen that by reason of the Onondages being fledd the brethren could not then meet in a body at that time the Onondages and Senekes and Cayouges will consult and pitch upon the time, and to give yo^r Excellency timely notice thereof to the end the brethren of the Maquaes and Oneydes may be acquainted therewith accordingly, Dated the 8th of August in Albany 1696.

NICH BAYARD

G. DELLIUS

EVERT BANCKER

DIRCK WESSELLS

P^r SCHUYLER.

Copy of a Commission left by his Excell.

Benjamin Fletcher, Capt. Gen^l & Govern^r in Chiefe of his Mat^{ies} Province of New-Yorke, &c. to Peter Schuyler Esq. one of his Mat^{ies} Council for the s^d Province, Mr. Godfrey Dellius Minister at Albany and places adjacent, Maj^r Dirck Wessells and the May^r of the City for the time being. I doe by virtue of the power and authority to me given by his Mat^{ies} Letters Patents under the Greate Seale of England, hereby impower you or any two of you to treat conferr and consult with the Five Indian.

Nations of the Maquaes Oneydes Onondages and Sinnekes who have hitherto been faithful to my Master his Majesty of Great Brittain, France & Ireland, &c. and to hold a correspondence with them pursuant to such instruccôns as you shall from time to time receive from me, so as by y^r endeavours they may be confirmed in their fidelity and allegiance. And from time to time you are hereby required to give a constant and minute account of all yor proceedings to me & his Mat^{yes} Council for the province of New Yorke, and I doe hereby supersede vacate make null any former warr^t or commission granted in this behalfe. Given under my hand and seal att Albany the tenth day of August in the 8th year of his Mat^{yes} reigne Anno Dm̄i 1696. BEN. FLETCHER.

(Copy.)

The Instructions.

Instruccôns for Major Peter Schuyler one of his Mat^{yes} Council for the Province of New-Yorke, Mr. Godfrey Delliuss Maj^r Dirck Wessells and the May^r of Albany for the time being, commissioned by me in my absence to conferr with the Five Indian Nations for his Mat^{yes} service pursuant to the s^d Commission.

To send out trusty and faithfull Indians with one or two Christians that understand the Indian Language to the Castles of the Sinnekes Cayouges and Onnondages who are fled, to acquaint them that upon the first news I had of the French Invasion I came up to their reliefe and assistance.

That att my arrivall at Albany I had intelligence the French were retreated out of their country.

That I am desirous to have a meeting with the Five Nations at Albany to consult with them what may be proper for their common good and safety, and present them with such things as are sent from my Great Master the King.

And that I desire to meet them the Eleventh day of October next, but if it should so happen there be reason of their seperacôn and flight the brethren cannot meet in a body at that time, the Onnondages, Sennekes, and Cayouges being the uppermost Nations do consult and appoint a time and give me notice thereof, to the end the brethren of the Maquaes and Oneydes be acquainted therewith that the meeting may not faile.

That if any of the Sachims come down in my absence you hear and answer their propositions as you shall finde most to conduce to his Ma^{tyes} service and the safety of the Province.

That by all opportunityes you give a minute account of these affairs to me and his Ma^{tyes} Council for this Province and from time to time follow such further directions and instruccōns as you shall receive from us.

And it is hereby further directed by & with the advice of those of his Ma^{tyes} Council here present that the sume of One Hundred pounds be lodged in the hands of Mr Dellius towards the defraying the necessary charges of these persons thus employed for his Ma^{tyes} service of which he is hereby obliged to give a particular account to me and for his Ma^{tyes} Council at New Yorke or to the Governour & Council for the time being. Given under my hand and seale at Albany the tenth day of August in the eighth year of his Ma^{tyes} reigne Anno Domini 1696.

BEN FLETCHER

(Signed)

DAVID JAMISON Cl. Concilij.

[Council Minutes VII.]

Att a Council held at his Matyes ffort in New Yorke the 18th of Aug^t 1696

Present His Excell: Benjamin Fletcher &c.

Steph Cortlandt	} Esq ^r	John Lawrence	} Esq ^r
Nich: Bayard		Caleb Heathcote	
Gabr Monvielle			

Resolved the Indians of the two Nations of Onnondage and Oneyde whose Corn is destroyed by the enemy be supplied the ensuing winter at the charge of this Government.

Ordered no Indian Corne be brought down the river from Albany Vlster and Dutchesse Countyes untill the Indians be supplied this ensueing winter and that the Commisioners appointed to treat with the Indians in his Excell: absence do purchase soe much corne as is necessary for them.

LETTER FROM COLL. FLETCHER TO Mr. BLAITHWAYTE,
DATED THE 18th SEPT^R 1696.

[Lond. Doc. X.]

Sir—I am not willing to take up much of your time by my scurvy scribblings; having said all that occurs to my thoughts in this hasty call from the Five Indian Nations, who have been driven by the French from their wooden castles and are returned; they desire to see me at Albany in a short warning and I am now ready to step on board. The French Count of Canada has made but a very silly businesse of it after three years preparation affrighting a few naked Indians only; by this, he shews them his strength and his mercy, being this summer recruited from France, he told all he took prisoners, his business was to bring them under the protection of his Master but not to destroy them. Our Chiefe Sachims would not be persuaded to stay and treat, but seeing his force, they fled, and are return'd. I hope to revitt them in their allegiance, by the presents sent from His Majty and an addition sent from this Province; but yet I want the most congent argument; a good body of men.

A JOURNALL

OF WHAT PASSED IN THE EXPEDITION OF HIS EXCELL. COLL. BENJAMIN FLETCHER CAPTAINE GENERALL AND GOVERNOR IN CHIEFE OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORKE &c. TO ALBANY TO RENEW THE COVENANT CHAIN WITH THE FIVE CANTON NATIONS OF INDIANS, THE MOHAQUES, ONEYDES, ONONDAGES, CAYOUGES AND SENNEKES.

Sept. 17, 1696. On Thursday after sunsett his Excell: imbarqued at Greenwich: on Tuesday morning arrived at Albany.

22. This day his Excell. viewed the fortifications of the city and gave orders to y^e Mayr and Aldermen for such reparacôns as were found needfull in the blockhouses platformes and stockadoes.

27th Sunday afternoone the Sachims of Oneyde and Onnondage arrived at Albany, in the evening they supped with his Excell. giving great expressions of y^e joy and satisfacc^on they had in meeting his Excell.

28th His Excell sent Capt James Weems to view the garrison at Schenectady and bring report to His Excell what necessary repairs are wanting which was performed accordingly.

This day the Sachims of the other three Nations arrived and desired time to rest themselves till tomorrow.

29th His Excell. called the Sachims together and spake.

At a Meeting of the Sachims of the Five Nations at Albany
the 29th of September 1696

Present His Excell Coll Benjamin Fletcher &c

Coll. Nicholas Bayard

William Pinhorne Esq

Maj^r Peter Schuyler

Matthew Clarkson Esq Secretary.

The May^r Recorder & Aldermen of Albany &c

} of the Council

His Excell said :—

Brethren, It is an inexpressible satisfaction to me that I see you here. I do heartily condole the losse our brethren the Onondages and Oneydes have susteined by the late eruption of the French army from Canida.

Upon the first certaine intelligence I had, I came up in person with [what] I could hastily gather for your assistance.

And I am now here and present you the Onondages and Oneydes these two belts of Wampum as a confirmac^on of my sincerity and these kettles to repair your losse in that kinde.

Brethren

Two months agoe I received at New Yorke the first intelligence that the French had made an insult upon your country. I forthwith came up as I said before to yo^r reliefe and assistance. I had an account before I did reach Albany from some of your people that the French army were retreated and marched back towards Canida. I then sent expresses desiring you all to meet me at this place. Some time after I received yo^r answer that you would

meet me about this time in Albany ; and I am now come up a second time this summer in order to renew the Covenant Chain and to consult with the brethren what is most proper and may be most conducing to the common good and safety of the whole House.

I do acquaint you from my most illustrious Master the King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, that he will always extend his gracious protecōn to you and as a seal of it His Majesty has commanded me to deliver you these presents to keep bright the Covenant Chain from all rust and to strengthen it in behalfe of all his Majesty's Subjects, not only of this Province, but those also of New-England, Connecticut, the Jerseys, Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia.

A list of the Presents sent from the Kings Most Excellent Majesty and given to the Indians (viz')

24 blew coats	1 barrell powder
24 laced hatts	400 weight of lead
24 p ^r shoes with buckles	1000 flints
24 shirts	1 grose of tobacco pipes, wood
22 dozen hose	and tinn
30 gunn barrills and locks	2 grose of knives
30 brasse kettles	6 pound of vermillion

Prime cost in England of the above goods £200 sterling.

A list of presents added by the government of New Yorke.

1 piece of duffils	100 hatchetts
2 cask of Swan shott	54½ lbs tobacco in roll
7 barrills powder	2 grose pipes
14 large kettles	Wampum £3. 9.
7 pieces of white hamills for shirts	28 gallons rumm
All which cost in New York money, . . .	£169 5 4½
For provision to the Indians and repairing their arms	130 19 7
Cash for Messengers, Indian Scouts for intelligence	
of the Enemyes motion p ^d by Mr. Dellius, Mr.	
Barker, Maj ^r Schuyler & Major Wessells . . .	100 00 0
From England £200 stg in New York money is . . .	260 00 0

In all £660. 4 11½

At a Meeting of the Sachems of the Five Nations at
Albany the first of October 1696.

Present

His Excell. Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, &c.

Coll. Nicholas Bayard

William Pinhorne Esqr

Major Peter Schuyler

Matth: Clarkson, Esqr. Secy.

The May^r Aldermen of Albany &c.

Sanonguiese a Sachim of the Mohaques was Speaker

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We returne you thanks for what you have said the day before yesterday in condoling of our losse, and for the kettles which you gave us to boyle our victuals in the room of those that are lost by the enemy as also for the two Belts of Wampum given us as a token of your sincerity, by which our hearts are mightily rejoiced and lifted up in this our poor condition.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We are exceedingly rejoiced that the great King over the Seas has sent to us in this our low condition, by which our hearts are lifted up, we were ready to sink in a miserable perishing Condition and this makes us revive again. He laid down six Beaver Skins.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We come to desire you to acquaint the Great King that the enemy has brought us to a very low Condition and have destroyed five of our Castles; one is now left, and if that be destroyed we know not what to do; we know not what shall become of us next; pray let the Great King know this.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We desire that since the Great King of England &c has Cannoes of Seaventy gunns a piece and many forces, you may acquaint him that it is a great pity we should be so plagued with soe small an enemy as the French and Indians of Canida. We are not able of ourselves to destroy them.

We are become a small people and much lessened by the warr. If the people of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jerseys,

Connecticut and New-England who have all put their hand to the Covenant Chain will joyne with the inhabitants of this place we are ready to go and root out the French and all our enemyes out of Canida. He then laid down a bundle of six Beaver skins, and on the outside thereof a draft of the river of Canida with the chiefe places thereof marked to show the smallnesse of the enemy and how seated upon Canida river ; which they desire may be sent over and shown to the Great King.

Quebecq
Montreal
Troy rivier

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

We again thank you for the Message you have brought us from the Great King.

And we pray you to send again to him for us with all vigour and speed, and to lay before the King what we have here said, faile not in writing, faile not to let the King know it. We give these five Beavers to the man that writes, to pay for paper, penn and ink.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We desire you to acquaint the Great King as before, that we are a small people and he has a great people and many canoes with great gunns, we desire you to write to him to know whether he will send them to distroy Canida or not against the next time the trees grow green ; and if he will not send forces to distroy Canada then to send us word thereof that we may make peace for ourselves, for ever, or for some time.

And we earnestly pray you will desire the Great King to send us an answer by the next time the trees grow green. He laid down a bundle of six bevers.

At a meeting of the Sachims of the Five Nations at
Albany Octob. 2^d 1696.

Present

His Excell. Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, &c.

Coll. Nich. Bayard

William Pinhorne Esq. } of the Council

Major Peter Schuyler, }

Matth: Clarkson Esq. Secy.

The Mayr Recorder & Aldermen of Albany &c

Dackashata a Sachem of the Sinnekes was Speaker

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We come to condole the losse you daily receive having daily alarms of sculking partyes of the enemy doing mischief. Then laid down a Belt of Wampum.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

I am come with the whole House to consider what tends to the comôn good of the whole House

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We come here to quicken the fire, and renew the Covenant chain.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We come to renew the Covenant chain with all the brethren of New England, Connecticut, New Yorke, the Jerseys, Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia that they may partake of the warmth of the fire.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We recommend to all that are in the Covenant Chain to be vigorous and keep it up.

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

When all is said I drincke to all yor healths & then I deliver you the cupp.

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

There has been a cloud and we come to remove it, as the Sun in the morning removes the darknesse of the night.

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

The tree of safety and welfare planted here we confirme it.

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

As the tree is planted here and confirmed, so we make fast all the roots and branches of it, all the brethren of the Five Nations and the brethren of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jerseys, New Yorke, Connecticut & New England.

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

We wish we may rest in quietnesse under that tree. We fill it with new leaves, and wish all that are in the Covenant chain may have the benefite to sitt down quiett under its shaddow.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

I do hereby renew the covenant chain with all that have put

their hands in it Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania the Jerseys, New Yorke, Connecticut & New England

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

We renew the covenant chain in behalfe of the whole House, the Mohaques, Oneydes, Onondages Cayouges & Sinnekes

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

We have lately had the losse of two Castles by the enemy, we have concluded to do our best to assist them and we desire Cayenquiragoe will doe the same.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We wish the Cannoes may go to and again in safety that the Great King may know what we have here said and that we may have an answer. We now have made our word good: here is the cup. Then laid down some small bundles of bever saying—it is but small, but [it] is as it were saved out of the fire.

His Excell: stood up and said—

Brethren

I have heard what you have said, and have here renewed the Covenant Chain with all the Five Nations, the Mohaques, Oneydas, Onondages, Cayouges & Sinnekes in behalf of the Brethren of this Province, Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jerseys, Connecticut & New England and I assure the Five Nations of His Maties proteccón. I have provided for you some victuals and drink to drink the King's health, and in confirmacón thereof that it may last as long as the Sun & Moon endures I give this Belt Wampum.

The principle Sachim of the Mohaques called—Ohee.

The whole Assembly answered Heeeeee Hogh.

The principle of Oneyde called—Ohee.

The whole Assembly answered Heeeeee Hogh.

The principle Sachim of Onnondage called Ohee.

The whole Assembly answered Heeeeee Hogh.

The principle Sachim of Cayouge called Ohee.

The whole Assembly answered Heeeeee Hogh

The principle Sachim of Sinneke called—Ohee

The whole Assembly answered Heeeeee Hogh

In the evening His Excellency did appoint the principle Sachims to meet him at a private conference next morning.

At a private Meeting of the Sachims of the Five Nations at Albany the 3^d Oct: 1696.

Present His Excell. Coll. Benjamin Fletcher &c

Coll. Nich. Bayard	} of the Council
William Pinhorne Esq.	
Major Peter Schuyler	
Matthew Clarkson Esq: Sect.	

His Excellency said :—

Brethren

It was proposed by the Speaker of the Five Nations the first day that I should write to my Great Master the King of England &c concerning the warr that is between the Five Nations and the French & Indians of Canida and that I should gett an answer from the Great King to you the brethren next spring.

Brethren

I must assure you its utterly impossible in so short a time to send over to my Great Master and to receive an answer for reasons which I shall now give you.

The way over the great sea is long, the danger and hazards are many, and in the winter season many storms and contrary winds.

Brethren,

I do promise you to use all the speediest means with the first opportunity to write to the Great King and to gett you an answer which I am sure will be to yo^r content and satisfaction and so soon as it comes I shall communicate it to you

Brethren.

In the mean time I have appointed Maj^r Schuyler M^r Dellius Major Wessells and the Mayor of the City of Albany, to receive yo^r propositions upon any occasions that may happen in my absence.

Brethren

I do heartily wish you home well to yo^r own castles and that you may look out and be carefull not to be surprized ; you can never be too watchfull. I now take my leave of you and give each of you a kegg of rumm for a dram to comfort you in

the way home, and a coat to keep you warm in the winter. I shall see you again (God willing) next summer or sooner if your affaires call, if it please God to continue my health.

The Sachims offer to make some propositions.

Sanongurese Sachim of the Mohagues Speaker.

Brother Cayenquiragoe

We have been a long time in the Covenant Chain with the brethren of New Yorke, in which afterwards at sundry times the brethren of Virginia Maryland Pensilvania, the Jerseys, Connecticutt and New England came and linked themselves. They like'd the chain of peace, but where are they now; they do not like to take part with us in the war. They are all asleep; they came not to our assistance against the enemy; their hands hung down straight, and their arms are lame; we see none minde the warr but the brethren of New Yorke.

We are now down upon one knee, but we are not quite down upon the ground; lett the Great King of England send the great Cannoes with seaventy gunns each, and let the brethren of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, the Jerseys, Connecticutt & New England awake, and we will stand up straight againe upon our feet; our heart is yet stout and good; we doubt not but to destroy the enemy. Then laid down a Belt of Wampum

Brother Cayenquiragoe.

We again desire you to write to the Great King and to gett us an answer against the next time the trees become green and that there be no delay. Let it not be said to us the cannoes are lost under water, or that the wind has carried them into another country, or the like excuse, but let us have the answer against the trees grow green, without faile, for we are in great need of it. Then laid down a Bever Skin.

To which His Excell: made answer.

Brethren. I shall be faithfull and exact to my promise to you I shall send to the Great King my Master by the first opportunity and be careful in sending you the Great Kings answer, as I told you before; but I cannot be positive to a time when the voyage

depends upon winde and weather which are soe uncertaine. I wish you well to yo^r castles.

The principle Sachim of the Mohaques called—Ohee

The whole number of Sachims answered Heeeeee Hogh &c.

EXTRACT OF GOV. FLETCHER'S SPEECH

AT THE OPENING OF 4th SESS. 5th PROV: ASSEMBLY 16 OCTOB: 1696.

[Council Min. VII.]

Mr Speaker I am to acquaint you I have been necessitated twice this summer by advice and consent of the Councill to visite Albany the ffrench Governor of Canida marched with so considerable a force into the Indian Countrey of Onnondage and Oneyde that I could not suppose his design would end there but expected that he would with that strength attempt Albany where I was ready to adjust my duty in defence of the place he contented himselfe with a poor insult over our naked Indians and retired Yet he destroyed the Castles and corne of those two Nations who must perish this winter if not relieved by us.

You all know they have been true to His Matyes interest in joyning with this Province against our common Enemy the ffrench and unlesse encouraged may be compelled by poverty to make their peace with them.

XII.

New-York Army List, 1700.

LIST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORKE, 1700.

[Lond. Doc. XIII.]

A Table of the Number of the severall Regiments in y^e
Province of New York.

County of Suffolk	.	.	.	.	.	614
Queen's County	.	.	.	.	.	601
King's County	.	.	.	.	.	280
Richmond County 2 Comp ^{as}	.	.	.	.	.	152
City & County of New York	.	.	.	.	.	684
County of West Chester	.	.	.	.	.	155
Ulster and Dutchess County	.	.	.	.	.	325
City & County of Albany	.	.	.	.	.	371
Totall						3182 men

Province of New York

List of y^e present officers of y^e Militia in his Mat^ys Province
of New York in America commissioned by his Excel. Rich^d Earle
of Bellomont, Capt Generall & Gov^r in Chief in & over his Mat^ys
said Province &c. viz^t

Of y^e Regiment of Militia of y^e County of Suffolk on y^e Island
Nassaw

Isaac Arnold	.	.	.	Colonel	}	Field Officers
Henry Pierson	.	.	.	Lieu ^t Col		
Matthew Howel	.	.	.	Maj ^r		

The several Comp^{as} in y^e said Regimt

The Foot Comp^a in the town of Brookhaven

Sam. Smith	Captain	} Com ^{on} Officers
Rich ^d Floyd	.	.	.	.	Lieut
Joseph Tucker	.	.	.	.	Ensigne

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e town of Huntington

Tho ^s Wicks	Capt	} C. O.
Jo ⁿ Woods	.	.	.	.	Lieut
Epenetus Plat	.	.	.	.	Lieut

Of y^e Foot Comp^a in y^e town of Southampton

Abra. Howell	Capt	} C. O.
Joseph Fordham	.	.	.	.	Lieut
Isaac Halsey	.	.	.	.	Ensigne

Of another Comp^a in y^e said Town

	Capt.	} C. O.
Jo ⁿ Lupton	.	.	.	.	Lieut.
Joseph Moore	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of another Comp^a in y^e said Town

Tho. Stephens	Capt.	} C. O.
Joseph Pierson	.	.	.	.	Lieut.
Jerem. Scot	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of y^e Foot Comp^a in y^e Town of Southold

Tho Young	Capt.	} C. O.
Sam. Glover	.	.	.	.	Lieut.
Rich. Brown	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Town

Jonathan Harlon Cap^t ——— Griffin Lieut

——— Emens Ensign

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Town

Tho^s Mapas Cap^t Joshua Harlow Lieut

Joⁿ Booth Ensigne.

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e town of East Hampton

——— Capt; ——— Lieut; ——— Ensigne;

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Town

John Wheeler Cap^t, Enoch Fitch Lieut,

Corn. Conchling Ensigne

This Regiment consists of six hundred and fourteen men

Of the Regim^t of Militia in Queens County on y^e said Island

	Colonel	} Field Officers
John Jackson	Lieut Col	
	Majr	

Of the Foot comp^a in the town of Jamaica

Tope Carpenter	Capt.	} Com ^{on} Officers
Benj ⁿ Thurston	Lieut.	
Rich ^d Oldfield	Ensigne	

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Town

Sam. Carpenter	Capt.	} C. O.
Joseph Smith	Lieut.	
Dan. Smith	Ensigne.	

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e town of New Town

Content Titus	Capt.	} C. O.
Sam. Kecham	Lieut.	
Sam. Morrell	Ensigne	

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Town

Rob ^t Coe	Capt.	} C. O.
Jon Berian	Lieut.	
Jonathan Coe	Ensigne.	

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e Town of Hampstead

Jerem. Smith	Capt.
Rich ^d Hubbs	Lieut.
Isaac Smith	Ensigne,

Cf another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Town

Joseph Smith	Capt.
	Lieut
Tho ^s Gildersleive	Ensigne.

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Town

Tho. Tredwell	Capt,
Jon. Pine	Lieut,
Jon Forster	Ensigne,

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e Town of Flushing

Robert Hinchman	Capt,
— Harrington	Lieut,
Daniel Wright	Ensigne

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e town of Oysterbay

Rob ^t Coles	.	.	.	.	Capt,
Josia Latten	.	.	.	.	Leiut
Nath: Coles Jun ^r	.	.	.	.	Ensigne

Of the Troope of Horse in y^e said Regim^t

John Lawrence	.	.	.	.	Capt.
Jonath: Smith	.	.	.	.	Leiut
Daniel Lawrence	.	.	.	.	Cornet
Jo ^a Finne	.	.	.	.	Quartermaster

The Regiment consists of six hundred & one men,

Of the Regiment of Militia in King's County on y^e said Island,

Stephen Cortlandt	.	.	.	Colonel	} Feild Officers
Gerrardus Beekman	.	.	.	Leiut Col.	
Corn: Van Brunt	.	.	.	Maj ^r	

Of the Foot Comp^a in the town of Amersfort,

Jo ^a Terhermon	.	.	.	.	Capt,
Peter Mansford	.	.	.	.	Leiut,
Corn Van Voorhuyen	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e Town of Gravesend.

John Lake	.	.	.	.	Capt,
Chr: Bemoyne	.	.	.	.	Leiut,
Albert Coerten	.	.	.	.	Ensigne,

Of the Foot Comp^a in the town of Brookland,

Joris Hansen	.	.	.	.	Capt,
Daniel Repalie	.	.	.	.	Leiut,
Teunis Repalie	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e town of New Uytregt.

John Van Dyke	.	.	.	.	Capt.
Joost Van Brunt	.	.	.	.	Leiut.
Matys Smake	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e town of Midwout

Arie Van de Bilt	.	.	.	.	Capt,
Symon Hansen	.	.	.	.	Leiut,
Isaac Hegeman	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of the Foot Comp^a in y^e town of Boswick

Peter Pra	.	.	.	.	Capt,
Michill Parmyter	.	.	.	.	Leiut,
Jochem Vouchnewen	.	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of the Troop of Horse in y^e said Regiment

Dan. Polhemius	.	.	.	Capt.
Roeloft Verkirk	.	.	.	Leiut,
Jerominus Remse	.	.	.	Cornet
Gysbert Bayard	.	.	.	Quarter Master

This Regiment consists of two hundred & eighty men.

Of the Militia in the County of Richmond.

Of the Foot Comp^a in the said County

Tho. Stilwell	.	.	.	Capt,
Tho. Morgane	}	.	.	Leiuts ^a
Nice Teunisse		.	.	

Of another Comp^e in y^e said County

Andrew Carmon	.	.	.	Capt
John Stilwell	}	.	.	Leiut ^a
Jaque Poilton		.	.	

The said two Comp^{as} in the said County consists of one hundred & fifty two men.

Of the Regim^t of Militia in y^e City & County of New York

Abra : De Peyster	.	.	Colonel	} Field Officers
W ^m Mervet	.	.	Leiut Col.	
Jo ⁿ Henry De Bruyn	.	.	Maj ^r	

Of a Foot Comp^a in y^e said City

Robt. Walters	.	.	Capt,	} Com ^{on} Officers
Andrew Teller	.	.	Leiut	
Jo ⁿ Hardinbrooke	.	.	Ensigne,	

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said City

David Provost	.	.	Capt,	} C. O.
W ^m Churcher	.	.	Leiut,	
Absa : Brasier	.	.	Ensigne,	

Of one other Foot Comp^a in y^e said City.

Leonard Lewis	.	.	Capt,	} C. O.
Jacob Vander Speigle	.	.	Leiut,	
Isaac Gouverneur	.	.	Ensigne,	

Of one other Troop Comp^a in y^e said City.

Isaac De Keimer	.	.	Capt
Steph Richards	.	.	Leiut
Nicho. Blank,	.	.	Ensigne

Of one other Foot Comp^a in y^e said Citty

Cornelius De Peyster	.	.	.	Capt,
Roger Baker	.	.	.	Leiut
Corn : Lodge	.	.	.	Ensigne

Of one other Foot Comp^a in y^e said Citty

John Theobalds	.	.	.	Capt
Peter de Melt	.	.	.	Leiut
Isaac Brasier	.	.	.	Ensigne

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Citty

Evert Byvanck	.	.	.	Capt,
John Vander Speigel	.	.	.	Leiut,
Jon ^a Tiebout	.	.	.	Ensigne.

Of one other Foot Comp^a in y^e said City

Martin Clock	.	.	.	Capt,
Tho Fornuier	.	.	.	Leiut,
Hend : Breevort	.	.	.	Ensigne,

Of the Troop of Horse in y^e said Regim^t

John De Peyster	Capt,	Jo ^a Outman	Cornet
Jon ^a Hoghland	Leiut,	Evert Van deWater	Quarter master

This Regiment consists of six hundred & eighty five men.

Of the Regiment of Militia in y^e County of West Chester.

	.	.	Colonel	} Field Officers
	.	.	Lieut. Col.	
Aug ^t Graham	.	.	Maj ^r	

Of a Foot Comp^a in the town of East Chester.

John Drake	.	.	.	Capt,	} C. O.
Joseph Drake	.	.	.	Leiut,	
Henry Tower	.	.	.	Ensigne	

Of a Foot Comp^a in y^e town of New Rochell,

Oliver Besley	.	.	.	Capt,
Isaac Merier	.	.	.	Leiut,
Pierre Vasleau	.	.	.	Ensigne

Of a Foot Comp^a in y^e town of Mamarioneck

James Mott	.	.	.	Captain
Robert Lauting	.	.	.	Leiut,
Tho : Ives	.	.	.	Ensigne

This Regiment consists of one hundred fifty five men.

Of the Regiment of Militia in y^e Counties of Ulster & Dutchess.

	Colonel	} Field Officers
Jacob Rutsen	Lieut Col.	
	Majr	

Of a Foot Comp^a in y^e said Countys.

Matthias Mattyson	Captain	} Com ^{on} Officers
Evert Bogardus	Leiut.	
Tennis Tappen	Ensigne,	

Of an other Foot Comp^a in y^e s^d Countys.

Abso : Hasbrooke	Captain
Moses Quantain	Leiut,
Lewis Bavea	Ensigne.

Of an other Foot Comp^a in y^e said Countys.

George Middagh	Capt,
Gysbert Kroom	Leiut,
Alex. Rosebrans	Ensigne.

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Countys,

Aria Rose	Captain
John Rose	Leiut.
Aria Gerrutse	Ensigne

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Countys.

Jocham Schoonmaker	Captain
John Van Camp	Leiut
Jacob Decker	Ensigne

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Countys

Coenrod Elmendorp	Captain
Mattyse Sleight	Leiut
Garret Wyncoop	Ensigne

Of another Foot Comp^a in y^e said Countys

Baltus Van Cleet	Captain
Hendrick Kipp	Leiut
John Ter Bus	Ensigne

Of the Troop of Horse in y^e said Regiment

Egbert Schoonmaker	Captain	Abra: Gasbert	Cornet
Corn: Decker	Leiut.	Mattyse Jansen	Quartermaster

This Regiment consists of Three hundred five & twenty men.

Of the Regiment of Militia in y^e City & County of Albany.

Peter Schuyler	Colonel	} Field Officers
	Leit. Col	
Dyrck Wessells	Majr	

Of a Foot Company in the city of Albany

Johannes Bleeker	Captain	} Com ^a Officers
Johannes Roseboome	Leit	
Abra: Cuyler	Ensigne	

Of another Foote Comp^a in y^e said city

Albert Rykman	Captain
Wessel ten Broek	Leit.
Johannes Thomasse	Ensigne.

Of another Foot Comp^a in the said County

Martin Cornelisse	Captain
Andris Douw	Leit.
Andris Koyman	Ensigne.

Of another Foot Comp^a in the said County

Gerrit Teunisse	Captain
Jonas Douw	} Leit ^a
Jochem Lamerse	
Volckart V. Hoesem	} Ensignes
Abra: Hanse	

Of a Foot Comp^a in y^e town of Schenectady

Johannes Sanderse Glen	Captain
Adam Woman [Vrooman?]	Leit.
Harman V. Slyke	Ensigne.

Of the Troope of Horse in y^e said Regiment

Kilian van Renslaer	Captain
Johannes Schuyler	Leit.
Bennone V. Corlaer	Cornet
Anthony Bries	Quartermaster

This Regiment consists of Three hundred seaventy one men.

(Indorsed) "No 13. New Yorke. List of the Officers of the
 "Militia in the Province of New Yorke Referred
 "to in y^e E of Bellomonts lre of y^e 28. Nov^r
 "1700 Recd 18 Feb Read 1700²

XIII.

CENSUS

OF THE

Counties of Orange, Dutchess & Albany.

1702, 1714, 1720.

[illegible]

In the Countij Orange the 16th Day of Junij 1702.
 WITNESS OUWER HAND
 This is a Trew ACount off all the Males and females off Men Women and Children
 WILL MERRETT
 DANIEL DE KLERCK)

Pr: Order of the Justices
the pages

D. STORM CI:

[Endorsed] This is a Truew Account of the County Orange.

Dit is het marck van
RTHEUNIS ROELOFFZEN VAN HOWTEN
 CORNELIS CLASEN
 Justices.

A LIST OF THE INHABITANTS AND SLAVES IN THE COUNTY OF DUTCHES. 1714.

The Severall places or Districts in the County where Inhabit- ing.	Numbers of Male persons above sixty years of age	Numbers of male persons from sixteen to sixty years of age	Numbers of male persons un- der sixteen	Numbers of females above sixty	Numbers of females from sixty to sixteen	Numbers of females under sixteen	Numbers of male slaves from sixteen and above	Numbers of male slaves under sixteen	Numbers of female slaves from sixteen and above	Numbers of female slaves under sixteen
Jacob Kip	2	4	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Jacob Plowgh	1	.....	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Matieis Slegt	1	1	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Evert Van Wagenen	1	3	.....	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
Whilliam Ostrander	1	1	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lowrans Ostrout	1	2	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peter Palmater	1	2	.....	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Maghell Pallmatir	1	2	.....	1	2	.....	1	.....	1	.....
William Tetsort	1	2	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Hendrick Pells	1	2	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peter Vely	1	1	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
John Kip	1	5	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Elena Van De Bogart	4	1	.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
John De Grave	1	2	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lenard Lewis	3	3	.....	5	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
Bartolomus Hoogenboom	1	1	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Baltus Van Kleek	2	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2	.....	1	2
Frans Le Roy	1	3	.....	2	2	.....	1	.....	1	1
Barent Van Kleek	2	3	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
John Ostrom	3	2	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Harmen Rinders	1	3	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Meindert Van Den Bogart	1	3	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Johanes Van Kleek	1	2	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lenar Le Roy	1	2	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Swart Van Wagenen	1	3	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Henry Van Der Burgh	1	.....	.....	2	3	.....	2	.....	1	.....
Elias Van Bunchoten	1	2	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Thomas Sanders	1	2	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Catrine Lasink Wedo:	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Peter Lasink	1	4	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
—ey Scouten	3	3	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mellen Springsteen	1	.....	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Johnes Terbots	2	2	.....	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
John Beuys	1	1	.....	3	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Abram Beuys	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Garatt Van Vleit	2	1	.....	4	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
William Outen	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Andreis Daivedes	1	3	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Frans De Langen	1	4	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Aret Masten	1	1	.....	1	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
James Husey	2	2	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Roger Brett	1	3	.....	1	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....

The severall places or Districts in the County where Inhabit- ing.	Numbers of Male persons above sixty years of age.		Numbers of male persons from sixteen to sixty years of age		Numbers of male persons un- der sixteen		Numbers of females above sixty		Numbers of females from sixty to sixteen		Numbers of females under sixteen		Numbers of male slaves from sixteen and above		Numbers of male slaves under sixteen		Numbers of female slaves from sixteen and above		Numbers of female slaves under sixteen	
Peter De Boyes	1	5	1	5	2	1														
Isack Hendricks	1	1	1	1	1	1														
John Breines	1	1	1	1	1	1														
Jeurey Sprinsten	1	4	1	4	1	1														
Peck De Wit	1	2	1	2	2	3							1							
Adaam Van alsted	1	1	1	1	2	2														
Cellitie kool	1	2	1	2	2	2														
Harmen knickerbacker.....	1	1	2	2	2	2														
Johannis Dyckman Sienjer.....	1	1	1	1	1	1							1							
Jacob Hoghtelingh.....	1	2	1	2	1	3														
Dirck Wesselse	1	2	1	2	2	2							2		1		2			
Willem Schot	1	1	1	1	3	3														
Jacob Vosburgh.....	1	1	1	1	3	1							1							
Tunis Pieterse	2	2	2	2	3	2														
henderick bretsier.....	1	1	1	1	3	2														
Roelif Duijter	1	2	1	2	2	1							1							
Johannis Spoor Junjoor.....	1	1	5	1	1	1														
Abraham Vosburgh	1	3	1	3	1	2														
Abraham Van Dusen	1	2	1	2	1	4														
Willem Wijt.....	1	1	1	1	1	3														
Louwerens knickerbacker.....	1	2	1	2	1	1														
henderck Sissum	1	1	1	1	1	1														
Aenderis Gerdener	2	1	1	1	1	1														
Gysbert oosterhout.....	1	1	1	1	1	6														
Johannis Dyckman Junjoor	1	1	1	1	1	1														
	11	89	120	1	97	98	12	6	7	4										

[Total No. of souls, 445.]

A LIST OF THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF ALBANY. 1720.

first ward

Evert Wendell
Jno Dunbar
Harmanis Wendell
Peter Van Brugh
Johannis Schuyler
Antoney Van Schaick
Mindert Schuyler
Antoney Vanschaick Snor
Robert Livingston Junr
Tho: Williams
Coonrodt Tennyck
Joseph Yates Junr
Jacob Roseboom
Jacob Staats
John Rosie
Wm: Hogan
Johannis Van Alen
Jacob Lansen
Baltis Van Bentheusen
Harmanis Ryckman
Fred. Mindertsen
Daniell Kelly
Johannis Vandenbergh
Joseph Vansante
Joseph Yeats Snor
Winant Vanderpoel
John Kidney
Mindert Lansen
Obediah Cooper
Johannis Vansante
Matthews Flantsburgh
Tobias Ryckman
Peter Ryckman
Wm. Hilton
Johannis De Garmoe
Claes Van Woort
Henry Holland
John Collins
Hend: Halenbeek
Peter Gramoe
Johannis Ratclif
Luykas Hooghkirek
Hendrick Oothout
Nicolas Winegaert
Cornelis Vandyke
Johannis Lansen
Luykas Winegaert
Ryert Gerritse
Gose Van Schaick
Barent Egbertsen
Bastian Visser
Antoney Bregardes
Thomas Wendell
Johannis Tenbroeck
Antoney Coster
Danl Flantsburgh
Johannis Beekman
Johannis Wendell Junr

Antoney Van Schaick Junr
Phillip Livingston
Jacob Beekman
Revrnd Thomas Barclay
David Grewsbeck
Stephanjs Grewsbeck

2d Ward

Johannis Cuyler
Nicos: Bleeker
Abram: Cuyler
Warner Van Ivera
Reyner Mindertsen
Barent Sanders
Wm: Grewsbeck
Guisbert Marselis
Herpert Jacobsen
Arent Pruyn
Johannis Mingaell
Johannis Hansen
Seibolet Brigardes
David Van Dyke
Johannis Vinhagen
Abram Kip
Cornelis Schermerhorn
Hendrick Tennyck
Johannis Beekman Snor
Gerrit Lansen
Issack Kip
Nanning Visser
Hendrick Roseboom
Mindert Roseboom
Andries Nach
Jan: Janse Bleeker
Johannis Bleeker
Christofell Yeats
Phillip Wendell
Jan Lansen
Gerrit Roseboom
Cornelis Van Scherline
Johans: Evertse Wendell
Abram: Lansen
Johannis Roseboom
John Hogan
Johannis Visser
Benj. Egbertsen
Johannis Grewsbeck
Claes Funda
Wm: Jacobsen

3d Ward

Isaac Funda
Samuell Babington
Gerrit Van Ness
Albert Ryckman
Cornelis Borghaert
Jacob Borghaert
Johannis Hun
Phillip Van Vechten
Lenord Gansvoort

Jan: Evertsen
 Evert Janse
 Jacob Evertse
 Jno: Solomonse
 Hendrick Hansen
 Abram: Schuyler
 Derrick Brat
 Johannis Van Ostrande
 Johannis Evertsen
 Tunis Egbertsen
 Derrick Tenbroeck
 David Schuyler
 Winant Vandenberg
 Takel Derrickse
 Johannis Backer
 Thomas Long
 John Gerritse
 Elbert Gerritse
 Issac Borghaert
 Cornelis Maasse
 Jan Maasse
 Barnt Brat
 Jacob Borghaert Junr
 Jacob Visser
 Jacobus Luykase Winegaert
 Johannis Pruyn
 Wessell Tenbroeck
 Peter Winne
 Jacob Muller
 Johannis Muller
 Saml: Pruyn
 Reuben Ven Vechten
 Cornlis Switz
 Guisbert Vandenberg
 Teirck Harminse Visser
 Tunis Brat
 Peter Walderom
 Rutger Bleeker
 Harpert Vandeusen

COUNTY OF ALBANY Viz.

Schoneclady.

Jonathan Stevens
 William Coppennoll
 Claes Franse
 Teirck Franse
 Yellous Fonda
 Adam Vroman
 Phillip Schuyler
 David Lewis
 Mindert Guisling
 Peter Quacumbus
 Abram Meebe
 Benj. Van Vlack
 Marte Powlisse
 Harma Van Slyck
 Sanders Gelon
 Evert Van Eps
 Arent Van Petten
 John Weemp
 Simon Switz
 Jacob Switz
 Mindert Weemp
 Arent Brat
 Hendrick Vrooman Junr
 Harmanis Vedder
 Dow Aukus
 Johannis Mindertsen
 Adam: Smith
 Abram Trueax

Rob: Yeats
 Abram: Lythall
 Assweris Marselis
 Abram: Groot
 Hendrick Vroman Snor
 Wouter Vroman
 Jno. Baptist Van Epps
 Derrick Brat
 Jan Barentse Wemp
 Barent Vroman
 Jan Vroman
 Gerrit Van Brackell
 Arent Danilse
 Simon Vroman
 Lawrence Chase
 Cornelis Vander Volgen
 Abram De Grave
 Daniell Danielse
 Cornelis Pootman
 Sam: Hagadoring
 Guisbert Van Brakell
 Volkert Simonse
 Jacob Schermerhorn
 Jacobus Vandyke
 Helmes Vedder
 Arnout De Grave
 Johannis Teller
 Albert Vedder
 Derrick Groot
 Gerrit Simonse
 Yealous Van Vost
 Victore Pootman
 Jan Delemont
 Caleb Beck
 Nicolas Schuyler
 Johannis Gelen
 Jacob Gelen
 Jesse De Grave
 Carle Hanse Toll
 Daniell Toll
 William Marrinas
 Arent Schermerhorn
 Esays Swaert
 Johannis Vroman
 Andries De Grave
 Joseph Clament
 John Bumstead
 Harma Phillipse
 Jereme Thickstone
 Jacob Van Olinda
 Arent Vedder
 Peter Vroman
 Daniell Janse
 Peter Danielse
 Jan Danielse
 Jan Meebe
 Johannis Peek
 Jacobus Peek
 Claes Van Petten
 Cornelis Van Slyck
 Marte Van Slyck
 Cornelis Feele
 Arnout Brat Junr
 Johannis Vedder
 Tunis Vander Volgen
 Claes Van Petten
 Andries Van Petten
 Jan Schermerhorn
 Wouter Swaert
 Arent Pootman

*Kenderhook and part Manor of
Livingston Viz.*

Jochim Van Valkenburgh
Isaac Fansborough
Casper Rouse
Peter Van Alen
Lamert Huyck
Burger Huyck
Johannis Huyck
Derrick Gardineer
Peter Van Slyck
Jno: Gardineer
Evert Wieler
Derrick Goes
Peter Fausburgh
Peter Van buren
Jno: Goes
Mattias Goes
Luykas Van Alen
Jacobus Van Alen
Evert Van Alen
Johannis Vandusen
Cornelis Schermerhorn
Johannis Van Alen
Gerrit Dingmans
Bartlemeus Van Valkenburgh
Thomas Van Alstine
Coonrodt Burgaert
Stephanis Van Alen
John Burgaert
Abram: Van Alstine
Lawrence Van Schauk
Elias Van Schauk
Jurie Klaime
Guisbert Scherp
Lawrence Scherp
Hendrick Clawe
Lamert Valkenburgh
Melgert Vanderpoel
Lenord Conine

*The north part of the Manor of
Livingston:*

Robert Livingston Esqr
Peter Colle
Killian Winne
Jan Emmerick Pleas
Hans Sihans
Claes Bruise
Jonat: Rees
Coonrodt Ham
Coonrodt Schureman
Johannis Pulver
Bastian Spikerman
Nicolas Smith
Baltis Auspah
Jno: Wm: Simon
Hanse Jurie Prooper
Abram Luyke
Broer Decker
Jurie Decker
Nicolas Witbeck
Johannis Uldrigh
Stitz: Muzigh
Coonrod Kelder
David Hooper
Gabriell Broose
Solomon Schutt
Jacob Stover
Johannis Roseman
Nicos: Styker

Claverack

Tobias Tenbroeck
Cornelis Mulder
Cornlis Esselstine
Jeremias Mulder
Derrick Hogoboom
Cornelis: Huyck
Isaac Vandusen
Jno: Hoose
George Sidnem
Richard Moor
John Hardyck
Hendr: Van Salsbergen
Jacob Van Hoosem
Kasper Van Hoosem
Jan Van Hoosem
Saml Tenbroeck
Peter Hogoboom
Rob: Van Deusen
Casper Conine
Frank Hardyck
Johannis Van Hoosem
John Bout
Wm: Halenbeck
Johannis Coole
John Rees
Wm: Rees
Johannis Scherp
Andries Rees
Ghondia Lamafire
Hendrick Whitbeck
Jurie Fretts
Hendrick Lodowick
Jacob Eswin
Jurie Jan
Claude Lamatere
Nicos: Vanduse *Cats Kills*

Cozhacky and Cats Kills

Mindert Schut
Wessell Tenbroeck
Wm: Lefferese
Helme Janse
Saml Van Vechten
Gerrit Van berghen
Marte Van berghen
Frank Salisbury
Jno Brunk
Minkas Van Schauk
John Albertse
Arent Van Schauk
Michael Collier
Cornelis Van Wormer
Johannis Halenbeck
Casper Halenbeck
Jan Van Loan
Albert Van Loan
Jno: Van Loan Junr
Abram: Provoost
Jacob Halenbeck
Jno: Casperse
Coonrodt Hotlen
Philip Conine
Jno: Vanhoosem
Lenord Brunk
Peter Brunk
Isaac Spoor

Canastigonia

Jno: Quacumbus
Jno: floort

Jacob Pearse
 Derrick Brat
 Maes Rycksen
 Evert Rycksen
 Gerrit Rycksen
 Nicholas Van Vranken
 Lapien Kanfort
 Cornelis Christianse
 Eldert Timonse
 Jno: Quakenboes Junr
 Peter Ouderkerk
 Jacob Cluit
 John Cluit
 Frederick Cluit
 Saml: Creeger
 Derrick Takelsen
 Mattias Boose Snor
 Johannis Christianso

Half Moon.

Jacobus Van Schoonhoven
 Evert Van Ness
 Daniell Fort
 Corn'ls Vanburen
 Conelis Van Ness
 Isaac Ouderkerk
 Lavinus Harminse
 Tunis Harminse
 Winant Vandenbergh
 Roolif Gerritse
 Hendrick Roolifse
 Jno: De Voe
 Daniell Van Olinda
 Eldert Ouderkerk
 Cornelis Vandenbergh

Schaakvoke

Saml Doxie
 Curset Petnet
 Johannis Knickerbacker
 Derrick Van Vechten
 Johannis De Wandelaer
 Simon Danielse
 Martin Delamon
 Lewis Fele
 Daniell: Ketlyne
 Peter Winne
 Adrian Quacumbus
 Abram Fort

Colloney Rensselaers Wyck.

Wouter Barheyt
 Johannis Valkenburgh
 Jno: Barheyt
 Isaac Van Alstine
 Jacob Schermerhorn
 Jacob Schermerhorn Junr
 Johns: Ouderkerk
 Claes Gardineer
 Andries Gardinier
 Hend: Valkenburgh
 Jacob Valkenburgh
 Andries Huyck
 Maes Van Buren
 Corn'lis Van Vechten
 Jonat: Witbeek
 Martin Vanburen

Barent Geritse
 Jan Witbeek
 Jonas Dow
 Andries Dow
 Folcort Dow
 Jno: Van Vechten
 Gerrit Lansen
 Volcort Van Vechten
 Melgert Vandause
 Rut Vandause
 Jho: Witbeek
 Luykas Witbeek
 Solomon Van Vechten
 Cap: Hendrick Van Rensselaer
 Philip Foreest
 Martin Van Alstine
 Albert Roolifse
 Marte Van Alstine Junr
 Jno: Funda
 Derrick Vanderhyden
 Gerrit Vandenbergh
 Albert Brat
 Cornelis Van Alstine
 Johns: Wendell
 Jan: Van Alstine
 Adrian Oothout
 Peter Coyeman
 Barent Staats
 Andries Coyeman
 Samuel Coyeman
 Jno: Witbeek
 Coonrod Hoochteefing
 Storm Backer
 Jno: Backer
 Hendrick Van Wyen
 Wm: Van Alen
 Daniell Winne
 Gerrit Van Wie
 Jan Van Wie
 Gerrit Vandenbergh
 Hendr: Dow
 Albert Slingerlant
 Evert Banker
 Wouter Vanderse
 Killian Vanderse
 Johannis Appel
 Peter Husyele
 Derrick Hagodorn
 Andries Brat
 Storm Brat
 Ome Legrange
 Johns: Legrange
 Johannis Simonse
 Nicos: Grewsbeek
 Jno: Oothout
 Mindert Marselis
 Jacob Lansen
 Abram Ouderkerk
 Peter Schuyler Esqr
 Abram Wendell
 William Ketlyne
 Frans Pryn
 Jaac Falkenburgh
 Claes Boyie
 Phillip Wendell

Pursuant to an Order of Court of Judicature held for the Province of New York on the Eleventh Day of June 1720, Directed to Gerrit Vanschaick high Sherrif of the City and County of Albany; A Returne of the free holders of the said City and County.

GERRIT VANSCHAICK Sheriff

XIV.

CADWALLADER COLDEN

ON

The Lands of New-York.

1732.

THE STATE OF THE LANDS IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK, IN 1732.

BY CADWALLADER COLDEN, SURVEYOR GENERAL.

[Colden Manuscripts, N. Y. Historical Society.]

In obedience to your Excellency's Commands, I now lay before you the State of the Lands in this Province, in the best manner I am capable of, by a plain Narrative of such facts as have come to my knowledge.

It may be necessary in the first place to observe, that the Kings Commissioners, who were sent in the year 1664 to reduce this Country to the Kings obedience (it being then in the possession of the Dutch) issued a Proclamation wherein they *Promised and Declared, that whosoever of what Nation soever will upon the Knowledge of this Proclamation, acknowledge and testify themselves to submit to his Majesties Government, as good subjects ought to do, shall be protected by his Laws and Justice, and peaceably enjoy what ever Gods blessing and their own industry hath furnished them with, and all other priviledges with English Subjects* And by the third article of Surrender, agree'd to with the Dutch Gov^r it is stipulated that *All People shall continue free Denizens, and enjoy lands, houses, goods, ships wheresoever they are within the County, and dispose of them as they please.* And by the eleventh Article *The Dutch here shall enjoy their own customs concerning inheritances.*

In pursuance of which the Inhabitants took out Confirmations of their Lands and tenements under the hand and seal of Coll Nicholls the first English Governor under the Duke of York in which their Title under the Dutch is recited, and the form of these Confirmations appear to be every where the same.

Gov^r Nicholls likewise granted unimproved Lands, to any that

were willing to settle and improve them and these first grants were made without any previous survey, or without reciting any certain Boundaries, but only to contain for example 100, 200 or 300 Acres adjoining to such another mans Land, or to a certain Hill or River, or Rivulet.

The Reddendum in these first Grants varied from time to time. At first it was *Paying the usual Rents of New Plantations*, what that was is now a dispute, but perhaps it may still be ascertained by living Evidences and sometimes their is added as a condition of the Grant, that the Grantee *shall do and perform such acts and things as shall be appointed By his Royal Highness or his Deputy.*

In about a years time the form of the Reddendum was changed as follows *Paying such duties as shall be constituted and ordained by his Royal Highness and his heirs or such Gov^r or Gov^{rs} as shall from time to time be appointed or set over them.* It is probable people were not willing to axcept of Grants upon such precarious terms and therefore we find this form soon after changed into the following, *Paying such duties and acknowledgements as now are or hereafter shall be constituted and established by the Laws of this Government.*

What Laws were then in being or afterwards enacted I know not tho^o perhaps they are still among the Records; but it is to be observed, that the Legislative authority was then assumed by the Gov^r and Council without the assent or concurrence of the Representatives of the People and the Lays then made are now in disuse. And for this Reason, none of these Lands pay now any Quitrent, tho^o their number be large, being, as I compute, not less than a Thousand: but I take into this computation all those grants in recording whereof the Clerks have omitted all that part of the grant which is commonly called the Habendum and Reddendum. The reason of which neglect, I suppose to be that they were all in the same words with a few that are Recorded at length in the begining, for so much is recorded as wherein they can differ, when the Habendum and Reddendum is the same viz The Motives to the Grant, the bounds to the thing granted, and the Grantees name and designation.

Before I proceed further, it will be likewise necessary to observe that the greatest part of Long Island, Viz all that part which lies opposite to Connecticut, was settled from Connecticut, and claimed by the Inhabitants under the Connecticut Title, to which in pursuance of the Proclamation above mentioned some regard is had. For the first, or at least the principle Grants of Lands upon this Island, are made in Townships according to the custom of Connecticut, & to the Freeholders and Inhabitants which supposess a previous Title some I know, think that these Grants of Townships are not Grants of the Soil, but only for the Good Government of these parts of the Country, as I remember it is expressly mentioned in the Patents for the Townships of Southampton and Southold and perhaps it is so in others likewise, and the Governours who granted these Town Patents continued to grant the Soil, within the limits of these Townships, as some of the succeeding Governours did likewise, However most of all the Lands within these Townships are held by Grants from Trustees, or Common Council of these Towns upon the General Town rights only. If these Town Patents should not be valid, as to the whole Soil contained within their limits yet they may operate as a confirmation of the particular rights and possessions of those who are called freeholders in the said Grants. These Town Patents are generally upon small yearly acknowledgements—

Notwithstanding that the Gov^{rs} under the Duke of York, took these extraordinary methods to secure their Masters Authority, and interest, they made some Grants of Large Tracts of Land, upon trifling Quitrents but as these are very few, in Comparison of what happened afterwards what observations I have to make on this head will come in more properly in another place.

Sir Edmond Andross the third English Gov^r of New York, as he seems to have had the interest of his Master and of the People he Governed as much at heart as any Gov^r that has at any time been set over this Province so he was very carefull in Granting of Lands: All Lands to be Granted were Surveyed before the Grant and bounded in the Grant according to the Survey. The Quitrents were likewise fixed by the Grant, generally at the rate of one Bushel each hundred acres tho' some times at a higher rate

and sometimes the rent was less, probably as the value of the land was represented. And as these grants are the most profitable to the Lords of the soil, so are they to the Tenant, they being free of all those disputes about their Boundaries which have in a great measure rendered some others useless to the grantees. Sr Edward has left but a few exceptions to be made to this general account given of his care of his Masters Interest. Coll Dungan who succeeded him, followed his steps in the Granting of Lands, but the exceptions to the General Good Rule are both more numerous and more considerable than in Sr Edmonds administration.

While Coll Dungan was Gov^r the Duke of York became King by which the property of the Soil and the Quitrents became annexed to the crown, and have continued so ever since, but as the Revolution happened soon afterwards, there is nothing material to be observed 'till after that time.

After the Revolution the Grants of Lands to all ran in the Kings name, whereas before that they were made in the Gov^{rs} name that granted the Land, and this method of Granting in the Gov^{rs} name was continued after the Duke of York became King, as it was before.

Coll Slaughter the first Governor after the Revolution, found the Country in such confusion and lived so short a while that I think only one Patent passed in his time for Lands. But Coll Fletcher, who succeeded him, made amends by the liberal hand with which he gave away Lands. The most extraordinary favors of former Gov^{rs} were but petty Grants in comparison of his. He was a generous man, and gave the Kings Lands by parcels of upwards of One hundred thousand Acres to a man, and to some particular favourites four or five times that quantity, but the King was not pleased with him, as I am told, and he was recalled in disgrace. This lavishing away of lands probably was one reason for

The Earl of Bellamont, who succeeded, having orders to use all legal means for breaking extravagant grants of Land, joined with the assembly in vacating several of the extravagant Grants made by Coll Fletcher but as this act was carried thro' with Spirit of party in the assembly, it passed with much less impartiality

than might have been expected from the Justice of the Legislature. For some of the most extravagant Grants were passed over, while some others were declared extravagant and vacated, that no way deserved that Character. However this act has considerably increased his Majestys Quitrents for of these tracts which were then vacated, and which by their pattents were to pay altogether five beaver skins, one otter skin one fat Buck and twenty shillings the lands since that time regranted within the bounds of the said patents pay near four hundred pounds yearly at the rate of 2^s 6^d per hundred acres, notwithstanding that a great part of these lands still remain ungranted. The Earl of Bellamont's administration was short he being removed by Death before he could compleat the designs he had in view

After his death the administration fell into Capt Nafans hands, then Lieu^t Gov^r. It appears that the Grants made in his time pass'd in a hurry, without any previous Survey, but upon very uncertain informations of the natural Boundaries, which the Grantees took in their Grants, so that some of them are become a sort of ambulatory Grants. The Patentees claiming, by virtue of the same Grant, sometimes in One part of the Country, and sometimes in another, as they are driven from one place to another by others claiming the same lands with more certainty. In other grants we find the same persons joined in several Grants with others, which Grants were intended for different Tracts and in appearance seem to be so, and yet by their present claims they take in the same Lands within the bounds of their several grants.

The Earl of Bellamont was succeeded, after Queen Anns accession to the throne by her Cousin the Lord Cornbury. The Grants of large tracts upon trifling quitrents, that were made during his Lordships administration at least equalled those of all his predecessors put together. Indeed his Lordship's inclinations were so evident to every body at that time that two Gentlemen (as I am well assured) had agreed with his Lordship for a Grant of all the lands in the Province, at a Lump, which were not at that time granted, and that the only thing which prevented the passing of that grant was, that those Gent^la apprehended that the Grant would of itself appear so extravagant and would create so many

enemies, that they would not be able to hold it. During the Lord Cornbury's administration an act was likewise passed, repealing the act above mentioned for vacating the extravagant Grants of Land by Coll Fletcher. The vacating Act passed not long before King Williams Death, and lay in the offices in England without any notice taken of it, till after the Lord Cornbury was removed from his Government; then the vacating Act was confirmed and the Act repealing it was repeal'd by the Queen and at the same time new instructions were given to the Gov^r, by which the Quitrent was directed not to be less than 2^s 6^d each hundred acres, and previous Surveys were ordered to be made before the Grant should pass, which have effectually prevented the above mentioned abuses.

I shall now proceed to some more particular account of the great Grants of Lands, I mean of such as contain fifty thousand Acres and upwards to a Million of acres, for if I be not very much misinformed, there is more than one that contain that quantity.

No quantity of Land or number of Acres, for the most part, are mentioned in any of these Grants, nor is it possible to discover the Quantity, by inspection of the Patents, as it may be done in those Grants which are founded on a previous Survey and where any quantity is expressed, it seems to be done more with design to hide the real quantity (if their present claims be truly conformable to their original bounds) than to set forth the truth, for I have hear'd of one instance at least, where the patent Grants 300 acres, and the patentee now claims upwards of sixty thousand acres within the bounds of his Grant. Others suspecting that such disproportion, between the real quantity and the quantity express'd in the Grant, might invalidate the Grant, got the quantity of Land to be expressed in the following manner, Containing for example, One thousand acres of profitable Land, besides wood Land, and waste and yet, when these Lands were Granted, perhaps there was not ten acres that was not wood Land, or One Acre that at the time of the Grant yielded any profit or one acre that by improvement might not be made profitable. Others guard against this exception to their Grant, by adding to the quantity of Land expressed in the Grant these words *Be it more or less,*

or some such words, and by virtue of these they not only claim a small quantity more than is expressed in the patent, but claim twice as much, and often ten times as much, and sometimes above one hundred times the quantity of Land that is expressed in the Grant, but as I said before, generally no quantity of Land is expressed in the Large Grants

There being no previous Survey to the Grants, their Boundaries are generally expressed with much uncertainty, By the Indian names of Brooks, Rivulets, Hills, Ponds, Falls of water &c which were and still are known to very few Christians, and which adds to this uncertainty is, that such names as are in these Grants taken to be the proper name of a Brook, Hill, or Fall of water &c in the Indian Language signifies only a Large Brook or broad Brook, or small Br^k, or high Hill, or only a Hill or fall of water in general, so that the Indians shew many places by the same name Brooks and Rivers have different names with the Indians, at different places and often change their names, they taking their names often from the abode of some Indian near the place where it is so called. This has given room to some to explain and enlarge their Grants according to their own inclinations by putting the names mentioned in their grants to what place or part of the Country they please, of which I can give some particular instances where the claims of some have increased many miles, in a few years, and this they commonly do, by taking some Indians, in a Publick manner, to shew such places as they name to them, and it is too well known that an Indian will shew any place by any name you please, for the small reward of a Blanket or Bottle of Rum; and the names as I observed, being common names in the Indian language, and not proper ones as they are understood to be in English, gives more room to these Frauds

Several of the great Tracts lying on Hudson's River are bounded by that River, on the East or West sides and on the North and South sides by Brooks or Streams of Water which, when the Country was not well known, were supposed to run nearly perpendicular to the River, as they do for some distance from their mouths, whereas many of these Brooks run nearly parallel to the River and sometimes in a course almost directly opposite to the

River. This has created great confusion with the adjoining patents, and frequently Contradictions in the boundaries, as they are expressed in the same patent.

Sometimes the Grant is of the Land that belonged to such an Indian by name or is bounded by such an Indians land, but to prove that any particular spot belonged to any particular Indian, or to show the bounds of any particular Indian, I believe is beyond human skill, so as to make it evident to any indifferent man

I shall next recite what have been the consequences of these large Grants, It is evident that thereby the King has been deprived of almost all his Quitrents, which it appears by the powers given to the Gov^{ts} to grant Lands, the King design'd to reserve. But the consequence I think, has been much worse as to the improvement of the country for tho this Country was settled many years before Pennsylvania, and some of the Neighboring Collonies, and has many advantages over them, as to the situation and conveniencies of Trade, it is not near so well cultivated, nor are there near such a number of Inhabitants, as in the others, in proportion to the quantity of Land; and it is chiefly if not only where these large Grants are made where the Country remains uncultivated—tho they contain some of the best of the Lands, and the most conveniently situated. And every year the Young people go from this Province, and Purchase Land in the Neighbouring Colonies, while much better and every way more convenient Lands lie useless to the King and Country The reason of this is that the Grantees themselves are not, nor never were in a Capacity to improve such large Tracts and other People will not become their Vassals or Tenants for one great reason as peoples (the better sort especially) leaving their native Country, was to avoid the dependence on landlords, and to enjoy lands in fee to descend to their posterity that their children may reap the benefit of their labour and Industry There is the more reason for this because the first purchase of unimproved Land is but a trifle to the charge of improving them

It may perhaps deserve the consideration of those who are more capable of Political foresight than I am, whether, if these large Grants take place, as they are designed and become great Lord-

ships with large dependancies and revenues, whether this will secure or indanger the Dependancy of the Colonies on their Mother Country. I think few instances can be given where great changes were brought to effect, in any state but when they were headed by Rich and powerful men ; any other commotions generally produced only some short lived disorders and Confusions

Now that I have done with what is more peculiarly my business the Historical part of this representation, yet, as your Excellency did me the Honour likewise to ask my opinion of what Remedy may be most proper, and effectual, I flatter myself that the giving my opinion at large in writing will be most agreeable to your Excellency's commands.

What at first Sight occurs in the vacating or breaking these Grants by due course of Law, and indeed there seems in common justice to be room enough for it but (to the purely Legal part, as it is an art or science I pretend to no skill in it) It is evident that in many of these the Governor who granted them was deceived as to the quantity ; but that the King was deceived in all of them. The Gov^r who granted these large tracts, if they knew their extent, were guilty of a notorious breach of trust, and as it cannot be supposed, that they did this merely in the gayety of their heart, they must have had some temptation, and this must be supposed to proceed from those that received the Benefit of it. That therefore the Grantees are equally guilty with the Gov^r in deceiving the King, and likewise of defrauding all the adventurers or settlers in the Colony of their equal chance of obtaining the most improvable and convenient lands, and of preventing the improvement and settling of the Colony for which purpose only the Lands are supposed to be Granted. These things supposed, I can make no doubt of a remedy in the common course of the Law, but notwithstanding of this I apprehend, that it will be accompanied with so many difficulties, that it will be better to think of some other. For all attempts, of those in the administration upon the properties of the subjects, are looked upon with an evil eye and as dangerous, and will be more so in this Country, where perhaps few Grants in America are made with such skill and care that some flaw may not be found in them by a strict and legal

search, so that every man will be apt to look upon any attempt of this kind, as in some measure his own case, and those that are really concerned will use all their Art to stir up the people to make it a Country Quarrel To prevent this it may be proposed, to give an absolute confirmation of all the Grants excepting such as are truly extravagant But it will be difficult how to define or determine the Grants that are truly such without making the exceptions to general or too particular, by naming the particular Grants to be excepted

The following proposal seems to me to be more practicable, Viz to abolish all the present rents, by an act of the Legislature, and in lieu of them to establish the Quitrents of all passed grants at 2^s 6^d p^r hundred acres, with an absolute Confirmation of all Grants upon their paying the said Quitrents. This would effectually restore the Quitrents, and would as effectually destroy all the Gr^{ts} which are truly extravagant. I mean such as the Proprietors cannot improve in any reasonable time for as this rent would be very heavy where the Tracts exceed twenty or thirty thousand acres, the Patentees would gladly surrender their Grants, to free themselves from this Burden, but at the same time it would be just to preserve to them their improved Lands under proper restrictions of not rendering useless any part of what is not delivered up.

The Quitrents would in this case be sufficient to support the Government, and if they were applied to that purpose, I believe would give a general satisfaction, because it would be as equal a Taxation as could well be contrived, and the taxes would not, as they do now, fall only upon the improvements and the industry of the people. It wou^d likewise absolutely remove the complaints of the Merchants, so that it would generally please all sorts, excepting the owners of the large Tracts—And I humbly conceive it for the Kings interest and of all those in the Administration to consent to this, because the Quitrents are of no use besides paying the Salary of the Receiver and Auditor, and that Gentlemans Estate would be thought to be ill managed, when it only paid his Steward and his Clerks wages. Besides when the revenue shall be fixed in this manner it will be much easier to obtain extraor-

dinary supplies when they shall be wanted, and it will likewise be much easier for the People to pay them

The chief objection, which I can conceive, that will be made to this is that if a perpetual revenue be Granted, then the Gov^{rs} will be free'd from that dependance on the People, and check on their behaviour that is necessary in all well ballanced Governments and which is the only check which the poor people have in America and that without such check the people of the Plantations may become a prey to Rapacious Tyrannical Gov^{rs} or other officers, tho the people do not doubt of their obtaining relief from the King, and his Ministers yet that relief is at such a distance, and must be attended with so much charge, that few private persons can have any benefit by it, and may often prove ineffectual by being too late even when many join in the complaint. Therefore unless some effectual solid check be given to the people, in lieu of what they have at present, by granting the Revenue for a short time, it cannot be expected that ever they will consent to a perpetual Revenue of any kind, or that they will be easy under it.

Now I have laid before your Excellency in the best manner I can within the bounds I think it necessary to confine myself, the most material things concerning the Grants of Lands, as far as relates to the King, the people of the Province, and the Grantees. If the remedy for the abuses set forth be thought practicable, no doubt your Excellency will easily obtain an Instruction, such as the Earl of Bellamont had to propose to the Assembly to find some proper means for establishing the Quitrents generally over all the lands in Province at the same rate and for promoting the improvement and settling of the Country, for that otherwise the King will take such legal methods, as shall be thought proper for vacating extravagant Grants, and receiving his Quitrents. And if there be a permission given at the same time to apply the Quitrents to the support of Government, and absolutely to confirm all past Grants, I believe an Assembly may conform with the Instructions, under such restrictions as shall be thought necessary checks on the officers—

In order to compute what the Quitrents would immediately yield I make the following calculation—

Long Island is computed to be 150 miles long, and Albany to be the same number of miles distant from New York, I suppose Long Island to be eight miles wide, one place with another, and that 10 miles on each side Hudson's River would immediately pay rent, this amount to — 2,688,000 Acres which at 2^s 6^d the hundred will yield £3350, and if the Cities of New York and Albany pay a reasonable Quitrent for their house lots the whole Quitrent will immediately amount to 4000 pounds yearly, which is more than the Assembly has at any time given for the support of Govern^t

It may be objected that the length of Long Island and distance to Albany may be less than what is vulgarly computed: That New Jersey extends 20 miles on one side Hudson's River: and that some Mountainous places, within my computation will yield no quitrent in this age but if it be considered that Staten Island is not within the Computation that the settlements extend 30 Miles beyond Albany, and that many settlements are twenty miles from the river and some thirty miles, it will be granted the Quitrents will at least amount to the sum above mentioned.

In the last place it may be objected, that the Kings Ministers design the Quitrents for other uses, but if it be considered of what consequence it is to free the Kings Officers of that immediate dependance on the humours of an Assembly, they are now under for their daily support, I believe it will be thought more for His Majestys service to apply the Quitrents to the support of the Administration in this Province, than to the uses the Quitrents have been hitherto applied.

NOTE.—Appended to the copy of the preceding, in possession of the N. Y. Historical Society, is the following memorandum, in the hand-writing of Lieut. Governor COLDEN :—

MAY 6th, 1752.

It is now twenty years since I delivered the above Memorial to Col. Cosby, soon after his arrival. I question whether ever he read it. I have reason to think he gave it to the person in whom

he then confided who had no inclination to forward the purposes of it. It had no other effect than to be predjudicial to myself.

The computations of what the lands would have at that time produced at 2^s 6^d p^r hundred acres I believe were made within bounds. The settlements are greatly increased since that time more than in fifty years before it so that I make no doubt they will produce six thousand pounds a year taking in a reasonable Quitrent for the house lots in the Cities of New York and Albany.

I forgot to mention that it appears from the Records that numbers of house lots were granted under the yearly Quitrents of one shilling two shillings &c or some such small rent which I believe is now never paid.

XV.

PAPERS

RELATING TO

The Susquehanna River.

1683—1757.

[From the Dutch Records entitled "Proceedings of the Justices of the Peace from 1680 to 1685," in the County Clerk's Office, Albany.]

*Extraordinary Meeting holden in Albany
on the 7 Septemb^r 1683.*

Present—Marte Gerritse, Cornelis Van Dyck, Dirck Wessels,
Joh: Provoost, J. Janse Bleker.

Two Cayugas, Aekontjaekon and Kaejaegoeke by name, and a Susquehanne being questioned in the Court house relative to the situation of the Susquehanne River which Mr. W^m Haig and Mr. James Graham, Gov: W^m Penn's Agents, propose to purchase, Report as follows:—

That it is one day's journey from the Mohawk Castles to the Lake whence the Susquehanne River rises, and then 10 day's journey from the River to the Susquehanne Castles—in all 11 days:

One day and a half's journey by land from Oneida to the kill which falls into the Susquehanne River, and one day from the kill unto the Susquehanne River, and then 7 days unto the Susquehanne Castle—in all 9½ days' journey:

Half a days journey by land and one by Water from Onnondage before we arrive at the River, and then 6 days from the River:

From Cayuga one day and a half by Land and by water before arriving at the River and then 5 days from the River:

From Sinnekes' four Castles 3 days by Land and 2 days by water ere arriving at the River and then 5 days from the River—in all 10 days which is very easy, they conveying their packs in Canoes from the River:—

The Indians demand wherefore such particular information relative to the Susquehanne River is sought after from them, and whether people are about to come there? The Indians are asked if it would be agreeable to them if folks should settle there? The Indians answer, that they would be very glad if people came to settle there, as it is nigher than this place and more convenient



JAN 75



N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA

